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AND LITERATURE
ON
" HISTORY OF URDU LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE "
DOWN TO 1720 "
submitted by
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HISTORY
OF
URDU LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
Down to the Year 1720.

ABSTRACT

I. The available material dealing with this subject is very scanty, largely unscientific, and often based on second-hand information. Even the Catalogues have many mistakes in the information. Therefore it was necessary to study the original Urdu and Persian manuscripts (both literary and historic) in the British Museum, India Office Library, Edinburgh University Library, and the Bibliothèque National, Paris.

II. New Discoveries.

a. Nearly 70 poets hitherto unknown are here discussed. See list of Marṣia-writers, p. 297. The others are:-

- | | |
|-------------|------------|
| 1. Ābīshī | 5. Maḥmūd |
| 2. Maqīmī | 6. Feroz |
| 3. Khushnūd | 7. Shauqī |
| 4. Amin | 8. Khisālī |

and

9. Ghulām 'Alī

b. The following Urdu works were also not known before

1. Quṭub Maṣṭarī of Vajhī;

2. Padmāvat of Ghulām 'Alī;

3. Yūsuf Zalikḥā of Khushnūd

4. The Dīwān of Rustūmī

) Not contained
) in any European
) Library.

III. Some misunderstandings about important writers have been corrected:-

1. The author of *Hasht Behisht* is Khusnūd, not *Muhammad Shah* (p. 121).
2. The author of *Qandax Badan-o-Mahyar* is Maqim, not *Aziz* (p. 103).
3. The real author of *Bahrān-o-Banū Husn* was *Amīn*, not *Daulat* who only completed it (p. 107).
4. Information given about this *Daulat*, otherwise unknown (p. 123).
5. The name of *Kamāl Khā* was *Rustumī*, not *Rasmi* (p. 114). Information given about his *Khāvar Nāmā* (p.p. 114).
6. The name of *Junsaidī* was not *Shalikh Ahmad* but '*Al Akbar* (p. 212).
7. *Nugratī's Quldastra-e-'Ishq* not a *masnavī* but a collection of ghazals (p. 146).
8. *Ibn-e-Nashatī* not translated a *Tutī Nāmā* (p. 216).
9. The *Dah Majlis* attributed to *Valī Aurangābādī* re by *Valī of Vellore* (p. 263).
10. Confusion about certain poets cleared up:-
 - (a) The 4 poets called *Amīn* (pp. 106, 221, and
 - (b) " 2 " " *Nuri* (pp. 109 and 227).
 - (c) " 3 " " *Mirzā* (pp. 160 and 229).
 - (d) *Nāshim* and *Nāshimī* (pp. 152 and 264).

IV. Much new information based on MS. study about:-

1. Vajhī (p. 189)
2. Rustumī (p. 114)
3. Muqrati (p. 126)
4. Ibn-e-Hashātī (p. 213)
5. Hashīm 'Alī (p. 284).

V. The writer has here presented some new views about the origin and development of Urdu. In this connection he has taken advantage of his belonging to the Dakhan in discussing the divergence between the northern and southern forms of Urdu.

C O N T E N T S

Chapter I. EARLY DEVELOPMENTS:

- a) Linguistic.
- b) Literary.

Chapter II. DIVERGENCES BETWEEN THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN FORMS:

- a) Causes.
- b) Results.

Chapter III. URDU UNDER THE 'ĀDIL SHĀHS:

- a) Early developments.
- b) The Golden Age.

Chapter IV. URDU UNDER THE QUTUB SHĀHS:

- a) Early developments.
- b) The Golden Age.

Chapter V. URDU UNDER THE MUGHALS:

- a) In Northern India.
- b) In the Dakhan and Gujrāt.

Chapter VI. The BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA OF URDU IN DELHI:

- a) The Dakhani Influence.
- b) The Reaction.

A CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX of the HISTORICAL and LITERARY EVENTS

From the Beginning of Urdu down to 1720,
as referred to in this Thesis.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

C O N T E N T S

A. LINGUISTIC:

1. Introductory.
2. Hindu-Muslim Contact on the Dakhan Coast.
3. " " " in Sindh.
4. " " " in the Panjāb.
5. " " " in the Jamna-Ganges Doāb.
6. Conclusions.

B. LITERARY:

1. In Northern India:

- i. Introductory.
- ii. Mas'ūd-e-Salmān.
- iii. Khusrāu.

2. In Gujrāt:

- i. Introductory.
- ii. Bahāuddin Bajan
- iii. Shah 'Alī Qam Dhanī.
- iv. Shaikh Khūlī Md.

3. In the Dakhan:

- i. Introductory.
- ii. 'Ainuddīn Ganj-ud-'Ilm.
- iii. Khāja Banda Nawās
- iv. 'Abdullā Hussainī

C. APPENDIX I.

A Chronological List of Early Writers and their Works.

D. APPENDIX II.

A detailed list of works concerning this Chapter.

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CHAPTER I.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS:

a) Linguistic.

Urdu is spoken, or at least understood, in one form or another all through Northern India, and fortunately several books have been produced dealing with its literary aspects, especially poetry, and grammar; but there would be hardly any exaggeration in saying that next ^{to} nothing has been written about it from a linguistic point of view. Everybody knows that it is an outcome of the Persian-Hindi contact, but nobody has yet tried to make scientific research as to when and whence it obtained an independent and distinguishable form. And even if anyone had tried to do so there would be very little hope of success, owing to the scantiness of the material available.

The Muslims did not enter India on one occasion only or by only one route, and it is obvious that wherever ^{where} they entered and wherever they settled down, they had to come into contact with the natives, and consequently a new inter-co

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munal vernacular had to be formed. The fact that they really did settle down in more than one distant part of India makes the task of research still more difficult, and to make matters clear, and also to represent the many schools of opinion about the beginning of Urdu, it seems advisable that the different Muslim invasions with their respective linguistic effects should be recorded here.

1. A large number of the Arab Muslims, following the traditions of their ancestors, sailed for India in 637 A.D., in the reign of the second Khalifah, 'Omar, for trade purposes and settled down on the Malabar coast to the west of the Dakhan. They converted many natives to Islam, and their efforts in this direction reached their zenith when the Raja of Kocin adopted their religion. The descendants of these Arab merchants are still to be found on that coast, and are called Moplas.

It is interesting to note that the innumerable families of Nawāit, Labbhe, and Colis Muslims in the Madras Presidency especially in that part which formerly belonged to the Kanara kingdom, and also in the extreme south-eastern districts of the Nizam's dominions, profess to be the descendants of the Arab traders, and state that their ancestors did not stop

on the Malabar coast but crossed the whole country until they reached the eastern coast of India, where they had to settle down.

Having these statements in view, some people are of opinion that as a result of that Hindu-Muslim contact a language was formed which was the mother of modern Urdu, and which some books were also written as early as before 1100. But this opinion seems to be but little worth considering, because Urdu is an Aryan language, whereas most of the Arab emigrants settled down in a Dravidian-speaking country. Besides, if it is admitted that some of them settled in Maharashtra, the outcome of such a contact would naturally have been a language based on purely Arabic and Mahārāshṭr elements, whereas Urdu is chiefly influenced by Persian and not by Arabic.

The facts that some books also were written by these Muslims in their new Indian vernacular, and that their MSS are still preserved in some families of Karnūl (one of the former south-eastern districts of the Nizām's dominions), are also very doubtful, and it would really remove many misunderstandings if at least one of these productions were published.

2. The second place where the Muslims settled down in India was Sindh. There also they entered by sea, this time not

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trading purposes but to increase their territory. Although they had been carrying on their invasion for twenty years, their real conquest began from 707 A.D., and during ten subsequent years they captured nearly all the important fortresses, and at last, in 717 Sindh as a whole became a province of the eastern division of the Muslim empire. This provincial status lasted until the reign of Khalifā Al Vāsi Billāh (842-48), of Baghdād, after which it was divided into several independent Muslim kingdoms. These were ultimately destroyed at the end of the twelfth century by the Qhūr dynasty which conquered Delhi.

The fact that Muslims were prospering in Sindh for near four centuries has led some people to believe that they naturally formed a new language, and that it was the original form of Urdu. But this conclusion is inadmissible for the same reasons as already stated in refuting the first school of opinion. No doubt it must be agreed that a language was certainly developing in Sindh, but it was not Urdu. It was the earlier form of the language which is now called Sindhi and which, though primarily Aryan, is much influenced by Arabic.

3. The third Muslim conquest was made by Persian-speaking people (i.e. Mahmūd Ghaznawī and his followers) who invaded the Panjāb, which fell into their hands at the end of the

tenth century A.D., i.e. in 998, though it was originally invaded in the previous century. The Panjāb remained an independent Muslim Kingdom, Lahore being its capital, until 1193 A.D., when the newly-conquered fort of Delhi became the capital of Muhammad Ghūrī's soldiers, and thus the Panjāb was turned into a province of Delhi. But the previous two hundred years during which it was the Ghaznawī headquarters may naturally have produced a new language; and it is on this point that some modern Urdu writers of the Panjāb have recently laid great stress, stating that Urdu is derived from old Panjābī rather than from Braj Bhāshā. One of them, Professor Hafiz Mahomed Shīrānī of Islamia College, Lahore, has compiled a book, "Panjāb mē Urdū", published by the Anjuman-e-Taraqqī-e-Urdū Lahore only last year, which deals, rather unscientifically, with the philological aspects of both Urdu and Panjābī. His main linguistic arguments for proving that Urdu is more closely related to Panjābī than to Braj are of two kinds.

One shows that both Panjābī and Urdū follow the same rules in many grammatical and linguistic developments. And ^{as} the author has quoted many similarities as possible, and thus has given great space ^{to} for this argument; but unfortunately it does not in any way prove that Urdu ^{is based on} ~~is based on~~ Panjābī. If two languages resemble each other in a few peculiarities

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it does not necessarily mean that one of them is derived from the other, or that both of them developed in the same country. It can only show that both may have been derived from the same linguistic source.

The second line of argument is worth considering. It shows that Urdu possesses some elements which can be explained only by studying modern Panjābī, and that some of them do not at present exist in any other language except Panjābī. But unfortunately these peculiarities are very few in number, and do not prove much. They more or less belong to word formation and those which are connected with the structure of the language do not exist in modern Urdu. They are found only in old Dekhani works, and are not strong enough to prove the Panjab theory on which I hope to throw some more light while giving my conclusions about the beginning of Urdu.

4. The last and the most generally accepted idea about the beginning of Urdu is connected with the conquest of the Delhi kingdom by Muhammad Ghurī in 1193, and the subsequent long rule of several Muslim dynasties in that part of India. Many old writers were of opinion that Urdu developed during the Mughal period, but owing to later researches it is not generally acknowledged that it was the natural outcome of the

early Persian-Hindi contact in Delhi and was generally spoken in the time of Muhammad Tughlaq (1325-51) whose armies carried it into the Dakhan, and that it was derived from the language which was then spoken in and around Delhi. This opinion is not altogether correct, and requires some important emendations.

The fact is, the foundation of Urdu was really laid before the Muslims captured Delhi, but it did not acquire the position of a language until they made that town their capital. It is derived from that language which was generally spoken in the early New Indo-Aryan period⁽¹⁾ in the country

(1) S.K. Chatterji in his introduction to "The Origin and development of the Bengali language" has styled the period after 1000 A.D. New Indo-Aryan, and states that it was during the first few centuries after 1000 A.D. that the modern Indian languages came into existence. (See Vol. I., pp. 17-20).

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which lies between the modern North-West Frontier Province on one side and Allahābād on the other. It may be right to say that it is based on the language of the Panjāb in the twelfth century, but does not follow that it is not based on the language which was then spoken around Delhi and in the Janna Ganges Doab, because at that time there could have been very little difference between the languages of the Panjāb and of the district round Delhi. Few of the details then differentiating them have survived to the present day. It was only after the twelfth century A.D. that the modern languages began to develop the differences now distinguishing them.

Although it is now rather difficult to tell at what precise period the process of these linguistic changes in the Panjāb and in the country around Delhi began, it was certainly after the establishment of the central Muslim power in Delhi. At first it must naturally have been a gradual change, but ultimately the cleavage between the dialects of these two places became so great that the one existed as Panjābī and the other as ~~Kharī~~ Boli. And Urdu is derived from neither Panjābī nor ~~Kharī~~ Boli but from the language which was the common source of both, and it is on this account that in some respects it resembles Panjābī and in other

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(3)

Khari Bolī. But as its most important centre was Delhi, the chief Muslim capital for nearly five centuries, it was mostly influenced by the latter. On the other hand, as the Panjāb was no longer the centre of Muslim activities, and was politically separated from the country round Delhi, and owing to some other causes also, its language developed on quite different principles than those which moulded Urdu. They may, in fact be called sister languages, and if one finds some resemblance between modern Panjābī and Urdu, it is only due to this circumstance and not to the derivation of the one from the other.

This theory is further proved by studying the Dakhani form of Urdu. When the Northern Muslims conquered the Dakhan at the end of the thirteenth century A.D., they took with them the language (i.e. Urdu) which was derived from the original source of both Panjābī and ~~Khari~~ Khari Bolī and which was then in an early stage of development. This immature language spread through the Dakhan and began to develop on new lines. But it was deprived of those influences which were working in the North to the moulding of Urdu and to the widening of the differences between Panjābī and ~~Khari~~ Khari, and on account of which Urdu was being brought nearer and nearer to the latter.

Where Dakhani Urdu was not being influenced by Khari, it was naturally separating itself from the northern form. Con-

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sequently it retained many peculiarities which resemble modern Panjābī rather than Khari. This may, in fact, be considered as one of the great reasons why the Northern and Southern forms of Urdu still differ in many respects, although the former has immensely changed the literary form of the latter since the downfall of the Dakhani Muslim kingdoms in 1686 and 1687. These differences and other causes are fully discussed in the following chapter.

Besides the Dakhan, the Northern Muslims also conquered the neighbouring Gujrāt at the same time, and in 1388 this became an independent Muslim kingdom which lasted until 1572 A.D. There too their immature language developed on its own lines, and some books were written in it, the MSS of some of them being still extant. The language of these MSS greatly resembles that of the old Dakhani works, and its character also strengthen our foregoing arguments as to the early development of Urdu.

In order to avoid any misunderstandings it seems advisable to summarise the above-mentioned arguments, in the following manner, before concluding this chapter.

I. Most of the differences now distinguishing Khari Boli and Panjābī were not developed before 1193, the date when Delhi and its kingdom became the centre of Muslim activities.

At that time these two languages were very nearly identical.

They probably began to differ before 1250 A.D., because at that time Khusrāu wrote some poetry in a language which may be called Khari Boli. But Khusrāu himself refers to it in the introduction to his Diwan Ghurrah-ul-Kamal, as Hindu and says that he is not the only man who compiled a Diwan in Hindu, but that Mas'ud-e-Salman also compiled one in that language. (1)

Mas'ud was a native of Lahore and a court poet of Shah Arsalan (d. 1118 A.D.), and he died long before Delhi was captured by his co-religionists. His Hindu Diwan is mentioned also by his contemporary Tagkira-writer, Muhammad 'Auff in his book Lut'ab-ul-Albab, which was compiled before 1228 A.D. i.e. almost in the time of Khusrāu. 'Auff writes:- "He (Mas'ud) compiled three diwans, one in Arabic, one in Persian and one in Hindu." (See p. 246). Unfortunately Mas'ud's Diwan is not now extant.

(1) As this is an important point it seems advisable to give here the translation of Khusrāu's original statements. He says:- "Some portions of my Hindu poetry have already been presented to my friends, therefore it will suffice to compile only the other works now." And he also writes: "Before this time none of the master poets had three diwans ... though Mas'ud-e-Salman had three but they were in different languages, i.e. Arabic, Persian, and Hindu." (See p. 86)

The fact that Khusrāu refers to Mas'ūd's Hindui work while mentioning his own, without pointing out that his predecessor's collection was in Panjābī or in any language other than his own, shows that the language used by a native of Lahore in or about 1125 was almost the same as that used by a native of Delhi in 1250.

Thus it was probably after 1250 that the differences which now distinguish Khari Bolī and Panjābī increased until at last each became a separate language, and that Urdu was already developing (first in the Panjāb and later on in the Ganges-Jamnā Doab) before Khari became a definite language.

II. This theory is proved by another fact also. The modern form of the language taken by the Muslim soldiers into the Dakhan in 1304 A.D., which developed there separately, shows that:-

1. It was based on the language which was the common source of both modern Panjābī and Khari Bolī:

2. It was brought into the Dakhan at a time when the influence of Khari was not complete (though it later on affected Northern Urdu to such an extent that it is now difficult to differentiate between Khari and colloquial Urdu).

3. It was not based on Khari because it contains (even now when Northern Urdu has so greatly affected it) some elements

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ments which closely resemble Panjābī (See Shīrānī's argumen

4. It was not based on Panjābī because it contains some such elements which resemble Khaṛī.

Thus it becomes evident that it was based on a language which was the source of both Panjābī and Khaṛī.

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LITERARY

It is rather disappointing to see that for a long time, Urdu did not acquire more than the position of an ordinary vernacular in the countries in which it first came into life. On the other hand, it was despised there until the middle of the 18th. century, both by scholars and the aristocracy. But at the same time, it would be unsafe to say that, in the meanwhile, it was not used as a literary medium.

It has already been long accepted that Kh. ajs Mas'ūd-e-Salman and Amīr Khusrāu composed a considerable amount of poetry in this language, and only recently we have come to know about one or two more northern Urdu poets, i.e. Afzal, Jīwan and Ja'far, who flourished before the 18th. century. The latter will be discussed in the fifth chapter of this work, because they may rightly be called Urdu poets under the Mughals. As regards Mas'ūd and Khusrāu, it seems necessary to point out that they probably did not compose in the language which was commonly spoken by Hindūs and Muslims, then in its early

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stages, which is now called Urdu.

(1) Mas'ūd flourished at the beginning of the 12th. century; he was a court poet of Shah Arsalām bin Mas' of Lahore, who died in 1118 A.D. Muhammad 'Aufī in his Lubāb-ul-Aḥbāb, an authoritative Persian anthology, writes that Mas'ūd composed three diwāns, one of which was in Hindūī ⁽¹⁾ (i.e. the language spoken in Hindustān). Khusrāw also, in the introduction to one of his diwāns entitled Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl, mentions the same thing about Mas'ūd's works. ⁽²⁾ ~~But these statements are not enough.~~

He was a native of Lahore, and as has already been mentioned, was not alive when Delhi was captured. Thus whatever he composed was inevitably in the language which was then spoken in the Panjab, and that language was in fact as we have pointed out the early form of Urdu.

(1) See Vol. II, p.246

(2) See P.66

(2) Khusrau no doubt lived what developed, and in a place the greatest centre of Urdu. He lived in the 13th. century, and died in India was experiencing great part, and the modern language Khusrau himself has pointed out different names to the dialects and around Dehlawī.

But like Mas'ūd's, the name is also doubtful. Though some say it does not seem to be author of Brāj Bhashā. It is not certain the language which was common to Muslims. Apart from the doubt or less in ^{Khari} ~~Brāj~~, some of his

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resemblance to the old Dakhani Urdu poetry. But it is very doubtful whether they really belong to him.

Khusra was also generally believed to be the author of Khaliq Barī, a metrical dictionary of Indian and Islamic languages. But it has lately been proved, specially by Mahmūd Shīrānī, to be a work of a later date; it was attributed to him by modern writers.

Some people attach a great importance to Khusra's Hindi productions, and believe him to be the first Urdu writer. As a matter of fact, he does not deserve any more credit than should be given to his predecessor Mas'ūd. As far as composing in an Indian language by a Muslim, is concerned, he was not the first poet, though his is the earliest existing poetry. He was really a poet of Braj rather than of Urdu.

Thus it may be noticed that apart from the one or two real early Urdu productions, which will be mentioned in the fifth chapter, nothing is yet known about any other work, though it would not be at all surprising if some more such work is brought to light. On the whole, it cannot at present be denied that Urdu was not until very late, generally adopted for writing purposes in Northern India. In the Dakhan and Gujrat however, where the language was merely imported, it was very soon considered a medium of writing, and some marvellous literature was produced in it.

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URDU IN GUJRAT

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Gujrāt was invaded by Muslims several times. It was as early as the beginning of the 11th. century that Mahmūd of Ghaznī made a sweeping attack, and plundered many prominent cities. But it came completely into Muslim hands and was made a province during the reign of 'Alauddīn Khiljī in 1297, A.D.

Following the example of the Dakhan nobles, Gujrāt too declared its independence just after the death of Feroz Shah Tughlaq in 1388, and retained its position for nearly 200 years. During this time, the language brought by the victorious Muslim soldiers of 'Alauddīn was inevitably developing under the auspices of the Gujrāt kings, a few of them, like Mahmūd Shāh I (1440-1511) and Bahādur Shāh (1533-36) being really great patrons of learning and literature. Although very few Gujrāt Urdu works are now extant, and our knowledge of its development there is comparatively meagre, that Urdu was patronised, and was adopted as a medium of writing is proved by the facts that

1. The writer found in two manuscripts of ancient and authentic Gujrāt histories (i.e., Mir'at-e-Sikandarī compiled by Iskandar bin Manjhu in 1610 and Mir'at-e-Ahmadi compiled by 'Alī Muhammad Khā in 1756), a few Urdu sentences which were spoken as early as in 1525 (1) and 1546 A.D., (2) and it is most probable that some more sentences could be discovered if one cared to study these manuscripts thoroughly.
2. The contemporary Dakhan histories very clearly show that many writers and scholars used to come to Bijāpur from Gujrāt, and that after the downfall of its kingdom Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh invited nearly all the literary men to his court. These Gujrāt emigrants played a great part in spreading Urdu literary culture in the Dakhan. It is perhaps due to this that some of the Bijāpur Urdu writers like Shāh Burhān, call their language Gujrī. It may be that after the Gujrāt influence the Dakhanī literary language was changed a great deal, and that those who used to write in this changed language called it Gujrī, whereas the older form was known as Dakhanī. But this difference does not seem

(1) See M. Sikandarī, Fol. 152a; Ind. Off., P. Ms.

(2) See M. Ahmadi, Fol. 668 b. Ind. Off. P. Ms.

to last long, for the later writers always refer to the language as Dakhani.

3. Some old manuscripts of Gujrati Urdu are still extant. Though they are not of a purely literary character, they prove that the language was developed to such an extent that it could certainly have been used for literary purposes also.

But on the whole it is certain that Urdu could not blossom in Gujrāt so long as it did in the Dakhan, because in 1572, its independent Muslim kingdom was conquered by the strong armies of Akbar, and it was turned into an ordinary province of the Mughal empire; its literary men as has already been stated, took refuge mostly in the Dakhan; it gradually began to lose the Muslim influence, Hindus being the majority, and thus it ceased perhaps for ever to patronise Urdu. Moreover on account of this disturbance, whatever Urdu literature was produced there, was destroyed to such an extent that nothing is now even known about it. (1)

(1) Recently an editor of a Gujrāt Urdu magazine wrote to the writer that he had discovered a manuscript of an anthology of Gujrāt Urdu poets, and that he was going to edit it. But nothing more has been heard of it up to the present.

1. BAHĀUDDĪN BĀJAN (d. 1506)

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Shaikh Bahāuddīn was the son of Mu'izzuddīn, and a disciple of Shaikh Rahmatullah, who was also the murshid (religious guide) of Mahmūd Baigāna, the king of Gujrat. He is said to have travelled much; visiting Sindh and Khurāsān in the north, and to the island of Ceylon in the south. He died in 1506 A.D., and was buried in Burhānpūr.

Bahāuddīn's nom de plume was Bājan (meaning a musical instrument); he composed both in Persian and in Braj. Some of his Bhāshā couplets resemble the Urdu poetry of his fellow countryman and poet Khūb Muhammad. The few specimens of his poetry quoted in "Panjāb me Urdu"⁽¹⁾, are neither of literary value nor authentic. Bājan was a religious devotee and perhaps did not compose any literary work.

2. SHĀH 'ALĪ GĀM DHANĪ (d. 1565)

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Shah 'Alī Muhammad Jīw was the son of Quth-ul-'Ālam Shah Ibrāhīm Jamālullah, a descendant of the famous saint

(1) Panjāb me Urdu, p. 155

Sayyid Ahmad Kabir Rifa'i. He was born in Ahmadabad, and came famous as a great Sufi and guide. He was popularly called "Gām Dhanī" (owner of a village), because the country was believed to be protected by his holiness. He died in 1565, A.D., and was buried in Rai Kher Ahmadabad.

Gām Dhanī left a diwān in Urdu which was first compiled by a disciple of his grandfather, Abul Hasan Shaikh Muhammad but afterwards his own grandson Sayyid Ibrahim b. Shah Mustafa compiled the same poems a second time because the introduction of the first one was not considered satisfactory. A few manuscripts of both of these compilations are still to be found. A copy of the first one is preserved in the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-e-Urdu⁽¹⁾. It contains 133 folios, 10 lines each page. It is entitled Diwān, and is divided into many irregular chapters, which are often in alphabetical order.

The language is ~~simple~~ very simple, and often the meaning is clear. Though nearly all the 1200 verses are entirely devoted to mysticism and religion, many of them are quite interesting, their style being very fascinating and graceful.

He seems to have been a natural poet, and is surely one

(1) See (a) "Urdu", Vol. 8, part 31, p.450
(b) Panjab me Urdu, pp 163 - 68

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of these very few early Urdu poets whose work is valuable not only as a specimen of earliest Urdu poetry, but also as an embodiment of simplicity of language and poetic vigour.

3. SHAIKH KHUB MUHAMMAD (d. 1614)
- - - - -

Mīr Shāikh Khūb Muḥammad Cishtī was a disciple of Shā Kamāl Muḥammad Sīstānī, and was a native of Ahmadābad. He was also a religious devotee, and has collected many discussions, mainly on mysticism, of his murshid (guide) Shāikh Sīstānī, in his Urdu work "Khush Tarang". It was compiled A.D. 1578, and contains nearly couplets. Its language is not as simple as that of Gām Dhanī's dīwān. The subject matter also is very dry and difficult to understand. The author himself felt it necessary to write a commentary on this Urdu work in Persian which was completed in 1592, and entitled "Amḍvāj-e-Khūbī". He died in 1614, and was buried in the Gauk Ahmadābad.

Two old manuscripts of his Urdu poems are preserved in the India Office library (see P.MSS. Nos. 1055 and 460). They are rather bulky, but are devoid of true poetry. The author has referred to his language as being Gujrātī at many places in the poem, and has himself given his name, and that of his murshid, and also the date of composition. He was not a good poet though his long poem helps a great deal in research work on the Gujrātī form of Urdu.

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IN THE DAKHAN
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As has already been stated, the Muslims first entered the Dakhan at the beginning of the 7th. century A.D. and were probably carrying on their preaching all the time until their co-religionists began to invade it from the North at the end of the 12th. century. The idea that this early intercourse with the natives had formed a new language, has still to be investigated, moreover it does not concern the development of Urdu. It was only after the downfall of the three main Hindu kingdoms of the Dakhan i.e. Mahārāshtra (in the west), Āndhra (in the east), and Karnāṭak (in the south), which fell into the hands of Malik Kāfūr ('Alāuddīn Khiljī's famous slave and general), respectively in 1304, 7, and 8, that the real foundation of Urdu in the Dakhan was laid. All these ancient kingdoms as a whole, became a province of the vast Muslim empire of the Northern India, and tempted many foreigners to migrate into its rich parts.

This union of the North and the South lasted for nearly forty years, during which time Urdu was spreading on the soundest basis; its process being characterised by the well

known strange act of Muhammad Tughlaq, which brought, in 1328, all the inhabitants of Delhi and its suburbs to Daulatābād, one of the great strongholds of the Dakhan. The enlarging and re-organising, according to the growing needs of the greatly increased population of this new capital required many craftsmen and workers who were all called for from the Jauma-Ganges-Doab. And in this way the Dakhan, and particularly Mahārāshtra (the country around Daulatābād), very soon became acquainted with Urdu the language of their rulers and new neighbours.

But the Dakhan is a country which has ever since been separated from the rest of India, not only geographically but politically also. It has always tried to free itself from any kind of connection with the north. And it is probably owing to this tendency that only a few years after Muhammad Tughlaq made Daulatābād his capital, all the Dakhan revolted against him, defeated his armies, and in 1347, A.D. declared its independence which lasted for more than three centuries.

The first independent Dakhan Muslim king was 'Alāuddīn Ḥasan Gangū Bahmanī, about whose early life nothing certain is known. He was, however, under the influence of a Brahmin Gangū, after whom he named his

dynasty as Bahmanī, and who was made the first prime minister of this new Muslim kingdom. Thus the Dakhan kingdom was from its beginning based on intercommunal policy, and as such it was necessary to patronise official a language which could be spoken and understood by both communities.

Hasan Gangū who ruled for eleven years, made Gulbarga instead of Daulatabad his capital; and after him his dynasty lasted till 1526, A.D., though during the last thirty years it had become very weak, and some of its governors had already declared their independence.

Although some of the Bahmanī kings like:-

1. Muhammad Shah II (1375-97)
2. Feroz Shāh (1398-1423)
3. Ahmad Shāh (1423-35)
4. Muhammad Shāh (1463-82)

were great patrons of Persian art and literature, it is certain, owing to the scantiness of our knowledge, whether they encouraged Urdu writing. It is nearly certain that they adopted it as their official language, because the historian Farishta refers to a Hindī language being used in Bahmanī offices. This Hindī could not be other than Urdu because:-

1. It was clearly the language spoken by all Muslims who

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brought it from the north.

2. It could not have been either Marāṭhī or Telugu or Canara for they were locally spoken by Hindūs in different parts of the kingdom, and to adopt one of them as a government language would have been an injustice to the others. Thus it was necessary for the rulers to adopt an entirely different Indian language which could become equally common to all.
3. The old Persian historians when they speak of Urdu, generally call it Hindī. The word Urdu was not till late used for the particular language.
4. The fact that in those days Urdu was being used as a medium of writing, and that some of the contemporary writers are known, proves that it had by then developed a great deal and that it was not impossible to make it an official language.

The Urdu productions of Bahmanī time, though not of any literary value, are important as being earliest specimens. It is most probable that literature was also produced in those days but was not preserved by later generations, and consequently we know nothing about it.

After the downfall of the Bahmanīs, their kingdom was divided into five different independent states i.e.,

1. 'Adil Shāh in Bijāpur (ended in 1686)
2. Qutub Shāh in Golkunda (ended in 1687)

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3. Nizam Shāhs in Ahmad Nagar (ended in 1595)
 4. 'Imād Shāhs in Barar (ended in 1572) and
 5. Barīd Shāhs in Bidar (ended in 1609)

but the dynasties that lasted longer and about whose patronage of Urdu something is known (which will be presented in the two following chapters in this thesis), are only the first two.

'AINUDDĪN GANJ-UL-'ILM (1306-1393)

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Shaikh 'Ainuddīn was born in Delhi in 1306 A.D. He left his native city early in his youth, and was educated in Gujrat. Afterwards he came to Daul^{at}ābād which was then over-
crowded with great scholars and literary men, being the new capital of Muhammad Tughlaq. There 'Ainuddīn became a disc-
iple of Sayyid Khur^sid Mīr, and read religious books with Shaikh Shams^suddīn. In 1337, he went to 'Ainābād Sāgar where
settled down for a long time.

He was a well known scholar, and was consequently called 'Ganj-ul-'Ilm (the treasure of knowledge). He is said to have written nearly 132 books on different subjects; one of his most important works being the appendix of the famous

"Ṭabaqāt-e-Nāsirī " by Qāzī Minkājuddīn.

He is said to have written a few small treatises in in Dakhanī Urdu also; manuscripts of three of them were supposed to be preserved in the library of Fort St. George, College, Madras. They consisted of only 40 folios, and were written on religious subjects. This information is based only on "Urdu-e-Qadīm", and the present writer has been able to get any further evidence.

2. KHAJA BANDA NAWĀZ (1318-1422)

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Sayyid Muhammad Husainī popularly known as "Banda Na (cherisher of disciples), was the son of Sayyid Yūsuf "Shah Rājū Qattal", who came to the Dakhan with Burhānuddīn "Gharīf" the khalīfa of the famous Delhi saint Khaja Nizāmuddīn "Auliya". Banda Nawāz was then only a child. When he was 15, his father died and was buried in Khuldābād, a holy town near Daulatābād. The youth returned to Delhi with his mother. There he became a disciple of Khaja Nasīruddīn "caragh-e-Delhi", and after his death in 1356, was made his khalīfa.

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In 1398 when Taimūr attacked and plundered Delhi, Banda Nawāz, an old man of 80 years, left it with his family, for the Dakhan. On his way, he visited many places in Gujrāt, and when he reached Daulatābād Feroz Shah, the Bahmanī king of Gulbarga, invited him to come his capital where he ultimately died in 1422 when he was nearly 105 years.

Khāja Banda Nawāz was a scholar as well as a holy man. He is now considered the greatest saint of the Dakhan, and the second greatest of the whole of India, Khajā Mo'imūd Cishtī of Ajmer, being the first. He was the author of many Persian religious books, and is also said to have written a few small treatises in Urdū.

The secretary Anjuman-e-Taraqqī-e-Urdū has preserved some old manuscripts which are attributed to this saint. But it is not certain that all of them are authentic. One treatise "Mi'raj-ul-'Ashiqīn", however, is considered to be authentic, and has recently been published. It contains nearly 342 lines of prose dealing entirely with mysticism. Although it does not seem to be a correct copy of the original, words and phrases being omitted in several places, it shows how far the development of the language had gone by the end of the 14th. century. It is important as

regards linguistic research, and is the first extant specimen of Urdu prose. Its language differs in many respects from that of the early Dakhanī works, its form being more influenced by Kharī, whereas the Dakhanī forms more or less resemble the Panjabī. Banda Nawāz spent nearly 60 years in Delhi, and it was natural that he should write in the language which was spoken there.

The fact that the language of Me'raj-ul-'Ashiqīn differs from other Dakhanī works shows that:-

1. It was really produced by a Northern writer, and therefore it is most probable that Banda Nawāz was its real author.
2. It proves the theory presented by the writer that the immature language which was at the end of the 13th. century, brought by the Muslim soldiers into the Dakhan, was derived from the original source of both Panjabī and Kharī, and that it was after this time that the latter began to influence Urdu, and thus the differences between the Dakhanī and the Northern forms came into being.

Banda Nawāz's language is the influenced Urdu, whereas the Dakhanī is the naturally developed form of the early Urdu, and as such, it retained many original characteristics.

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3. 'ABDULLĀ HUSAINĪ (about 1435-88)

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The descendants and disciples of Khājā Banda Nawāz have, until as late as the downfall of the 'Adil Shāhī and Qutub Shāhī dynasties, played a great part in the religious as well as the political life of the Dakhan. Their activities are fully recorded in contemporary histories. Several of them were great scholars, spiritual teachers and holy men. Some of them entered into political life as well. They married into royal families, and became dignatories and royal advisors.

These people may naturally have used Urdu as their medium of instruction; and there is much scope for research and for discovering many valuable old Urdu

writings if one gets the opportunity of seeing their family library and papers in their ancient and holy palace which still stands in the grounds of the much revered tomb of Khājā Banda Nawāz. As it has not been disturbed since its foundation, being considered a holy sanctuary, by a political change, there is every hope of finding much

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material there.

At present our knowledge of the Urdu productions of this family is very limited. It is, however, known that one of Banda Nawāz's disciples wrote a commentary on seven of his sayings which were also in Urdu. It was entitled "Haft Asrār" and perhaps does not exist now.

Banda Nawāz's grandson Sayyid Muḥammad 'Abdullā Husainī was as popular as his grandfather, and he is also considered a great saint. He lived during the reign of Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī II (1435-58), and translated with a commentary, the well known spiritual book "Nashat-ul-'Ashiqīn" of Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Jīlānī into Urdu. One of its fine manuscripts was extant in the library of Tipu Sultān in Mysore, but at present it is probably not extant.

APPENDIX I

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A chronological list of early Urdu writers and their works

1. Mas'ūd-e-Salmān (about 1118)
Diwān - not extant.
2. Amīr Khusrāw (d. 1324)
Few verses - found in Tazkirahs.
3. 'Alimuddin Ganj-ul-'Ilm (d. 1393)
A few treatises - were found in the library of Fort St. George College, Madras.
4. Khāja Banda Nawāz (d. 1422)
(a) Mi'rāj-ul-'Ashiqīn - published as a supplement to the first edition of Urdu-e-Qadīm.
(b) Hidāyat Nāmā - probably not extant.
5. Banda Nawāz's disciple, name and exact date unknown.
Haft Asrār - probably not extant.
6. 'Abdullā Husainī (about 1459)
Translation of Nashat-ul-'Ashiqīn.
Ms. was found in the library of Tipu Sultān.
7. Bahāuddin Bājā (d. 1506)
A few couplets - given in "Panjab me Urdu"

APPENDIX I (Continued)

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8. Shāh 'Alī Gam Dhani (d. 1565)
Diwān - preserved in the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-e-Urdū.
9. Shaikh Khub Muhammad (d. 1614)
Khub Taraqq (1578)
MSS. (1) India Office Library, Nos. 1055 and 460
(2) Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-e-Urdū.

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APPENDIX II

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A detailed list of works concerning this chapter

1. Burhan-e-Ma'asir.

A history of the Bahmanis and the Nizām Shāhis from 1341 A.D. to 1595, by 'Alī b. 'Azīzullah Tabatabā. Commenced in 1532, and brought down 1595. The MS, is in three uniform volumes, and is dated 1782. B.M., Add. 999 9998. Also India Off. MS. P. 127.

2. Nauras Nāma or Gulzar-e-Ibrahīmī.

Generally known as Tārīkh-e-Farishta. A history of the Muslim kingdoms of the Dakhan, compiled by the order of Ibrahīm 'Adil Shāh, by Muḥammad Qasim Farishta, commenced in 1606, A.D. MSS. B.M. Add. 6569-6571. ~~India Off. B.~~

3. Mir'at-e-Sikandari.

A history of Gujrāt, compiled by Iskandar bin Manjū in 1610. B.M., Add. 26271.

4. Tazkirat-ul-Mulūk.

A history of the 'Adil Shāhs of Bijapur from their origin to 1611 A.D., and of contemporary dynasties in the Dakhan Hindustān, and Persia, by Rafī'uddīn Ibrahīm b. Nūruddīn Taufiq Shirāzī - commenced in 1608 A.D. brought down to 1611.

24 MSS. B.M. Add., 23,883.

5. Qazaya-e-Salat-in-e-Dakhan.

A history of the Dakhan from the early Muslim conquest to A.D. 1743, by Mirza Mahdi khān, also known as Nizamuddin Muhammad Hadi. MSS. India Off. P. 339

6. Taymiq-e-Shigarfi.

A history of the Dakhan from the early Muslim conquest to 1786 A.D. by Lachmi Narain Shafi Aurangabadī. MSS. Ind. Off. P.1732.

7. Mir'at-e-Ahmadī.

A history of the Muslim kingdom of Gujrat from its origin down to its conquest by Mughals. Compiled by 'Alī Muhammad Khān in 1756. B.M. Add. MS. 6580.

8. Urdū-e-Qadīm.

A history of old Urdū literature, by Shamsullah Qadri. Published.

9. Panjāb me Urdū.

A history of the development of Urdū in the Panjāb, by Hafiz Mahmud Shīrānī. Published 1928.

CHAPTER II

The divergence between the Northern & Southern forms

(a) Causes.

1. Different linguistic surroundings
2. Influence of the rulers
3. Political domination
4. Hindu Muslim unity
5. Dravidian influence in the Dakhan
6. Persianisation of the North

(b) Differences.

(I) of pronunciation.

1. Vowels and diphthergs
2. Consonants

(II) of structure and significance

1. Vocabulary
2. Grammar.

(A) CAUSES.

As has been stated in the first chapter, the language spoken by the nobles, scholars, soldiers and tradesmen who accompanied Sultān 'Alāuddīn Khiljī, and his famous general Malik Kāfur in 1304, 7, and 8, and specially Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq in 1328, to the Dakhan was in its early and transitory stages, and whatever unsettled form of Urdu these people spoke at that time, it spread among these native Muslims of the Dakhan who were either converted Dakhanis or descendants of Persian and Arabic emigrants. But when the Dakhan and the North were politically separated after the foundation of the Bahmanī kingdom in 1347, the linguistic unity of these two places was disturbed, and this alienation caused quite a different kind of development in the Northern and Southern vernacular.

These developments mostly resulted from the influence of the non-Muslim neighbours of both places. In the North (i.e. in the Jamna Ganges Doab which was the greatest centre

of Hindū-Muslim contact, and thus naturally of the intercommunal language) the Hindūs spoke only one language, while in the Dakhan they had several - belonging to different linguistic families, Aryan and Dravidian.

Thus while Urdu was being influenced and enriched the North by one particular sister language, in the Dakhan it was not receiving any nourishment from its neighbours. They could not help its natural growth in the same manner as Kharī, because they were more than one, and moreover were not closely related to Urdu in origin. Dakhani Urdu consequently had to stand on its own feet. And when it developed without help from Kharī, it was inevitable that it should retain all those peculiarities which it brought from the North and which were dropped afterwards owing to Kharī influence. This is the only reason why we find in old Dakhani works, and even in the present, characteristics which are different from those of the North, and which resemble Panjābī.

Apart from this important linguistic cause, there are a few other facts which also played some part in this estrangement.

2. The Dakhan was far from and had no direct connection with Persian and Turkish speaking countries, whereas the

North was often invaded by foreigners. From Qutbuddin Aibak (1206-10) down to Bahadur Shah Zafar (1837-57), every ruling dynasty was foreign, and consequently its language was different from that of the subjects; but in the Dakhan nearly all founders of Muslim dynasties were those who had been for a long time either in Northern India or in the Dakhan; and most of them were acquainted with the language and customs of the Dakhan long before they became kings.

Not only the founders, but nearly every Northern king used to speak and write Persian or some other foreign language. From Muhammad Tughlaq (1325-51) down to Muhammad Shah Akbar (1719-48) there is not a single example of a king who wrote either prose or poetry in Urdu. On the contrary, there were several Dakhan kings (like Ibrahim, Muhammad, and Sikandar of the 'Adil Shahis, and Muhammad Quli, Muhammad, 'Abdullah, and Abu'l Hasan of the Qutub Shahis), who used Urdu in their poems.

3. Whenever there was a political change in foreign Muslim countries, their inhabitants used to migrate into India where their co-religionists were ever hospitable in receiving them. And these new-comers, on account of their skill and tact, used to gain good posts and status in the Indian courts. After a long succession of this

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foreign domination, it became a tradition that from the prime minister down to ordinary clerks nearly all government officials were selected from among these influential newcomers.

Moreover there was a continued invasion of Persian-speaking people which lasted till 1761 A.D. i.e. till the fifth invasion of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī.

This Persian influence was not only working in the political sphere but it was dominant in the literary field also. Foreign poets and scholars used to receive big salaries and magnificent presents from the Indian courts till the time of Muhammad Shah (1719-48). There are several incidents in the history of Indo-Islamic literature that show how natives, possessing literary skill and capability were crushed out in favour of foreigners.

These influences were so strong that the Urdu of Northern India did not become a literary language for a long time. On the other hand, the Dakhan was far from Persian-speaking countries. There was, no doubt, a little foreign influence there also, but it was nothing in comparison with that in the north. When the foreigners in the Dakhan found that even the king and his courtiers used Urdu, they were also obliged to learn and adopt it. Moreover the Dakhan was not always dominated by foreign

nobles; the natives had ever since a strong prejudice against outsiders. Their scholars and poets were generally from their own country, and those who were not natives used to adopt the native language instead of Persian or Arabic in order to be at home with them.

4. There were not such strong connections between the Hindus and Muslims of Northern India as among the Dakhanis. There was an exception to this during the reign of Akbar (1556-1605) but unfortunately it did not last long. The separation of the Dakhan from the North was itself based as has been pointed out in the first chapter, on Hindu-Muslim unity. The unity of the Northerners, if there was any, was not more than a social and economic relation, whereas the unity of the Dakhanis was a strong political tie. They wanted to separate themselves from the North as a whole country, not only as Muslims, and for this purpose they had to form strong friendships with their neighbours which really lasted until the fall of Golkunda (in 1687). From the time of Hasan-Garygu (1347-75) down to the imprisonment of Aqbu'l Hasan, the last independent king of the Dakhan, in 1687, there were always Hindu ministers and officials in the Muslim courts. This Hindu-Muslim contact also helped a great deal in the development of the

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Dakhanī Urdu.

5. Although the Northern Hindūs and Muslims had very few chances of personal contact in the courts, palaces, and learned societies, they had to meet each other in the streets and public places on account of which the vernacular rapidly progressed, although the literary language of each nation was quite separate; one nation used to write in Braj, and the other in Persian.

The Dakhan was in this respect, in quite a different position. In spite of the Hindu-Muslim unity, there were several hindrances in the development of Urdu there. The language which was developing was not a natural growth of the country. It was an import, and was mainly based on an early vernacular of the North and on Persian; and there was a great difference between the vernacular of the Dakhan and that of the North. Therefore the Southern Muslims had to add to their language elements from the vernacular of their neighbours, which were four or five in number and were quite alien to one another.

6. In the last days of the Mughals, i.e. in the 17th. century, when Persian influence was predominant everywhere and the vernaculars (Urdu and Khari) of both communities in the North had almost become one ~~ground~~ through the

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passing of time, the Hindūs of the North also began to write in Persian, and on account of their Persian acquirements and writings, their speaking knowledge of the language and vocabulary was effected.

Quite contrary to this, the Dakhani Hindūs had to learn one more different language, if they were going to learn Persian. Urdu itself was foreign to them on account of it being a mixture of Persian and North-Indian languages. And when they did not learn Persian their vocabulary was wholly devoid of its influence. Owing to this, Muslims also had not only to avoid introducing new foreign words but to use as few Persian words as possible.

All these causes produced two main kinds of difference between the Northern and Southern forms of Urdu:-

1. The Northern was so much influenced by Kharī, that it lost its many original characteristics, while the Dakhanī retained them, and consequently in some point which will be explained in due course, resembles Panjābī.
2. The North was greatly effected by Persian also, while in Dakhani many Dravidian elements were added

(B) RESULTS.

The above-mentioned causes which were working from 1363 1633 A.D., produced so many important differences between Northern and Southern forms of Urdu that at last each became a separate dialect not only as regards sounds but in structure and significance. It is evident that these changes were produced early, though it is difficult to state any exact date for their beginning. It is, however, certain that before 1626 A.D. (the date when Afzal composed *Bārā Mātā*), these two dialects had already become different in many respects as will be shown later on.

I. The Differences of Pronunciation

The Urdu language possesses approximately eight vowels three diphthongs; and before proceeding to mention them, it seems necessary to write a few sentences about their phonetic symbols. Urdu sounds are generally represented by so-called Roman symbols, but the present writer thinks that the symbols of the International Phonetic Association, though not adopted in this thesis, will be more suitable if they are generally used for writing Urdu. There are no separate symbols for

vowels in Urdu itself. The present writer, however, has tried to adopt a particular Urdu symbol for each vowel as will be seen in the following chart:-

Urdu vowels and diphthongs

No.	Urdu symbols	Ordinary English symbols	Inter-national symbols	Examples	Meaning
1.	ٲ	ī	i	dhīlā	loose
2.	د	i	i	dil	heart
3.	کھ	e	e	khel	play
4.	رات	ā	a	rāt	night
5.	چور	o	o	cor	thief
6.	گل	u	u	gūl	flower
7.	دور	ū	u	dūr	for
8.	سب	a	^	sab	all
9.	کھوف	au	bo	khauf	fear
10.	بھالو	ai	ʌ	bhalo	buffalo
11.	فaiyyaz	ai	AI	faiyyaz	generous

1) There is one peculiar vowel in Southern Urdu which is not used in the Northern, i.e. γ in words like $p\gamma t\gamma$ (lad), $t\gamma ppa$ (heap) $d\gamma bba$ (Fat) $d\gamma ppa$ (Cap) $p\gamma kka$ (hole) $m\gamma ddu$ (dull), and $b\gamma rra$ (belly). They are neither pronounced as $p\circ t\gamma$ and $toppa$ nor as $put\gamma$ and $t\ddot{u}ppa$. They have a middle position, and are generally found in the Dakhani words of Dravidian origin.

2) There are several words, common in the Northern and Southern Urdu, pronounced with different vowel in the Dakhan, e.g.

In the North	In the Dakhan	Meaning	Vowels
1. Shortā	Shervā	Soup,	$o > e$
2. adher	addhar	middle-aged	$e > a$
3. jhīgar	jhuḡgur	cricket	$i > u$

3) The long vowels are often pronounced short in the Dakhan

1. admī	admi	man	\bar{a}
2. khashkhash	khashkhash	poppy seed	"
3. Kīcar	kīccal, also cikkāl	mud	\bar{i}
4. bhīgnā	bhignā	to become wet.	"
5. Sūghnā	sūgnā	to smell	u
6. sanduq	sandux	box	"

The following are examples taken from the manuscript of Qutub Mushtari, which was compiled in Golkunda in 1608 A.D. They prove that this change had taken place even at the end of the 16th. century. ^{Some} Most of them are still pronounced in the same way in the Dakhan.

In the North	In the Dakhan	Meaning	Vowels
7. Hathi	hati	elephant	a
8. upar	upar	on	"
9. diva	diva	lamp	i
10. Mitha	mitha	sweet	"
11. bund	bund	drop	u
12. dusrā	dusrā	second	"

4. In the same work, (i.e. Qutub Mushtari) some such forms with long vowels are also found which at present exist neither in the Northern nor in the Dakhan Urdu, e.g.:-

Bahar	for bahar	out
sir	" sir	head
kue	" kue	some
phirna	" phirna	to wander

5. All the compound vowels become diphthongs in the Dakhan, e.g.:-

ṣafāī	ṣafai	. cleanliness
barhāī	barai	. carpenter
amraī	amrai	. mangotope
bhās	bhao	. rate
nāo	nao	. boat
cao	cau	. care

CONSONANTS

The Urdu language has a strange combination of various consonants derived from different linguistic branches. As the script is originally Arabic, all the sounds other than Arabic have no special orthographic symbols. Persian and Sanskrit sounds (i.e. p, q, z, g and r) are represented by adding something on or after the original Arabic letters. All these consonants may be classified as follows:- (separate phonetic symbols for some of the Urdu consonants as ^{recommended} ~~designed~~ by the writer are given in the brackets).

- 1). The Arabic "q" sound is not pronounced by all Urdu speakers. Though nearly all the Muslims of the Jmana-Ganges Doab pronounce it very nearly correct Panjabis make no difference between the velar plosive k and the back kh. Dakhanis pronounce q like a back kh. A keen hearer can realise that there is a slight difference between them. The second seems to be more vigorous than the first.
- 2). In the Dakhan the retroflex r is pronounced like a

cerebral l, when it is final or followed by a consonant or the vowels a and o; e.g.

North		Dakhan		Meaning
car ^h har	:	calkar	:	having climbed
par ^h na	:	palna	:	reading
parho	:	palo	:	read
laro	:	lalo	:	fight
karā	:	kalā	:	bracelet
carāo	:	calao	:	rise

3.) When there are two retroflex consonants in one word, the first if initial, is always pronounced dental in the Dakhan, e.g.,

No.	North	Dakhan	Meaning
1.	tṭṭnā	tṭṭnā	splitting into pieces
2.	tṭṭrā	tuklā	pieces
3.	ṭhandā	ṭhandā	cold
4.	ṭhitarnā	ṭhitarnā	to shiver
5.	ṭaṭ	ṭaṭ	sack
6.	ṭhattā	ṭhattā	joke
7.	ṭhūrhi	ṭhuddi	chin

calao with ṭhuddi
ṭhuddi

3). (Continued)

No.	North	Dakhan	Meaning
8.	derh	del	l ^h
9.	dandā	dandā	stick
10.	datna	datna	to threaten
11.	dhīt	dhīt	fearless
12.	Dhūṇḍnā	dhūṇḍnā	to search
13.	dantālā	dantālā	stalk
14.	Dand	dand	arm
15.	dāvādol	dāvādol	unsettled
16.	Dhādḥā ke	dhādḥā ke	having destroyed
.	.	.	.
.	.	.	.

4). Like the retroflex a few more consonants are also replaced by some other particular consonants, e.g.: k and kh by kh;

Con-sonant	North	Dakhan	Meaning
k	rakh	rakh	ashes
"	khāk	khakh	soil
"	toshak	toshakh	quilt
"	khūtā	khuttā	a tent-pin
"	taraknā	tarakhnā	to split
g	begam	begham	lady

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4). (Continued)

Con- sonant	North	Dakhan	Meaning
g	. dargāh	. darghā	. tomb
"	. ugāldān	. ughāldān	. spitoon
"	. barbāgal	. balbāghal	. bat
z.	. soznī	. sojnī	. quilted cloth
"	. darzbandī	. darjbandī	. repairing walls

5). Some consonants disappear owing to assimilation or some other cause, in the Dakhan form, e.g. d and b:-

d	. cāndnī	. cānnī	. moonlight
"	. nazīk	. nazīk	. near
"	. būnd	. bun	. drop
"	. phundnā	. phunnā	. tassel
"	. gundhna	. gunnā	. to weave
"	. bandhna	. banna	. to tie
"	. bisandh	. bisan	. bad smell
"	. mānind	. mānin	. like
"	. thand	. than	. cold
b.	. gumbad	. gunmaz	. tomb
"	. sābhalnā	. samalna	. to protect
"	. nibū	. nimū	. lemon
"	. nimb	. nim	. a kind of tree

6.) Many consonants that are now found single in Northern India are double in the Dakhan. This difference proves that the tendency which was working in ~~Burj~~ Kharī Bārā, owing to its influence in Northern Urdu also, of compensatory lengthening of vowels from the original Prakrit forms which had short vowels following by double consonants, does not affect Dakhani Urdu. Like Panjabi, it retained the characteristics of its mother tongue. Though it is not at present ^beasy to fix the date when Northern Urdu began to lose this characteristic, it is certain that it had occurred before 1626, A.D., when the Bārā Māsā was composed, in which we generally find the lengthening; whereas its contemporary Dakhani words have always used the original word forms which are still preserved in Southern India.

No.	North	Dakhan	Meaning
1.	sukhā	sukka	dry
2.	phikā	phikka	tasteless
3.	Khutā	khuttā	tent pin
4.	būrhā	buddā	old
5.	būrhī	buddī	" (feminine)
6.	hāthī	hattī	elephant
7.	cādar	caddar	sheet

6.) (Continued)

No.	North	Dakhan	Meaning
8.	Cūnā	cunna	lime
9.	cūlhā	culla	kitchen
10.	pūlā	pullā	bundle
11.	mūlī	mulli	a radish
12.	kīcār	kiccal	mud

7). There are some other words also which are found with double intervocalic consonants in the Dakhan while the have a single consonant in the North, e.g:-

1.	ṭakā	ṭakka	coin
2.	nadī	naddī	river
3.	sadī	saddī	century
4.	phanī	phannī	bunch (specially o bananas)
5.	abbī	abbī	now
6.	kabbī	kabbī	ever
7.	namak	nammak	salt
8.	jumā	jumma	Friday
9.	galā	gallā	neck
10.	galī	gallī	street
11.	dālī	dalli	a nut or tablet

7). (Continued)

No.	North	Dakhan	Meaning
12.	talā	talla	bottom (or sole)
13.	nalā	nalla	pipe
14.	tavā	tavva	pan
15.	mā	muṛṛā	dead
16.	bū	buṛṛā	sister
17.	jū	juṛṛā	gambling

8). Besides there are many more words of this type which are now only used in the Dakhan, and about some of which it is not certain whether they are Aryan or not, e.g.:-

Word	Meaning	Word	Meaning
1. . nakkṇ	not	8. ṭhussī	an ornament
2 . phaddis	dull	9. mussal	and instrument
3 . maddi	mud	10. cukkī	deceit
4 . gaddā	an illness	11. eillar	one by one
5 . happa	bread	12. chubṭā	cover
6. . ṭappa	post	13. muddā	wet
7 . kalla	noise		

9). There is a considerable difference between the two dialects as regards aspirated consonants. In the Dakhan many intervocalic aspirated consonants (especially voice

lose their aspiration, e.g:-

Consonant	North	Dakhan	Meaning
d.	bandham	bandan	tie
"	samdhi	samdi	the fathers of a bride and bridegroom.
"	samdhan	samdhan	the mothers of a bride and bridegroom.
"	gadha	ghada	donkey
"	buddhu	buddu	dull
"	adha	ada	half
"	kidhar	kidar	where
"	idhar	idar	here
"	sadhu	sadu	holy man
"	badhe	bade	tied
"	budho	budo	twist
b.	kabhi	kabbi	ever
"	abhi	abbi	now
g.	sighar	sigar	decoration
"	bagharna	bagarna	to season
"	cingharna	cingarna	to roar
r.	garha	gaha	hole
"	carhao	calao	rise
"	barhai	balai	carpenter
"	terha	tele	curved
"	sirhi	siri	stairs.

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- 10). Aspiration between two vowels is not generally found in the Dakhan. In some cases the preceeding consonants (especially if they are voiced) become aspirated and the form of the word also changes, e.g.:-

	North	Dakhan	Meaning
1.	bahot	bhot	many
2.	bāher	bhār	out
3.	lahū	lhau	blood
4.	lohā	lhavā	iron
5.	bahū	bhau	daughter-in-law
6.	pahlā	pailā	first
7.	bahen	bhain	sister
8.	gehū	ghiu	wheat
9.	baherā	bhairā	deaf
10.	gaherā	ghairā	deep
11.	ḍahī	dhai	curd
12.	nahī	nai	not
13.	kahā	kā	where
14.	kahī	kai	somewhere

- 11). In some words, a few consonants which are not aspirated in the North, are found aspirated in the Dakhan, e.g.

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Consonant	North	Dakhan	Meaning
t.	lattū	latṭhū	top
"	ulṭā	ulṭhā	upsidedown
"	paltānā	palṭhānā	to turn
k.	caukī	caukhī	stool
m.	mori	mhorī	gutter

12). The first ^{nal} parts of most of the sentences are changed on account of the disappearance of the aspiration in the Dakhan

e.g:-

(a)	·	voh lātā hai	·	vo lātai	·	he brings
	·	voh lāte hai	·	vo lātai	·	they bring
	·	tū lātā hai	·	tū lātai	·	thou bringest
	·	tum lāte ho	·	tum lāteo	·	you bring
	·	mai lātā hū	·	mai lātau	·	I bring
	·	ham lāte hai	·	ham lātai	·	we bring
(b)	·	voh lātī hai	·	vo lātīe	·	she brings
	·	voh lātī hai	·	vo lātai	·	they bring
	·	tū lātī hai	·	tū lātīe	·	thou bringest
	·	tum lātī ho	·	tum lāteo	·	you bring
	·	voh lātī hai	·	vo lātīe	·	she brings
	·	voh lātī hai	·	vo lātai	·	they bring

THE DIFFERENCES OF STRUCTURE AND SIGNIFICANCE.

(a). Vocabulary

The differences of vocabulary are important as well as numerous. There are innumerable Dakhani words and phrases which are not used or even understood in the North; whereas there are many Urdu words that are with unfamiliar or foreign to the Dakhanis, or possess quite a different significance in their minds. They may be divided into many categories, e.g.:-

- 1). Words which are derived from the native language of the Dakhan, and are to be found there in a good number:-

akka	. . aunt	dan	..(a place for mixing 1
asal	. mud	ghursi	. and sand)
bandi	. a kind of	gundi	. tent
	. carriage		. crag
bautā	. banner	kattal	. wood
bontā	. quilt	potṭa	. lad
dhapla	. a musical instrument	raoti	. tent
pantlu	teacher	toppa	heap

- 2). Words which did not bear the present meaning and form when they were originally borrowed from other languages but have had a particular development in the Dakhan, and ultimately gained a special form and significance, e.g.

alkhat, palkhat	. a particular position of
	. sitting.
alal tappū	. at random
jhatkā	. a kind of carriage
khadbaglā	. rough
lappāduppī	. plunder, loot
maddāk	. intoxicated person
mārahmarī	. tumult
martiglā	. lean.

- 3). Words which were derived both in the Dakhan as well as the North, from the same original source, and receive different meaning and forms afterwards, e.g.:-

ghayāb	(from Ar. ghaib)	absence
hayātī	(from Ar. hayāt)	life, age
mushārī	(from Ar. mushāhira)	salary
famna	(from Ar. fahm)	to understand.

- 4). These single or compound words that serve as particular idioms and proverbs. The following are used only in

the Dakhan:-

urī palnā	. to proceed to get a thing greedily
āg phaknā	. to show envy
bagarnā	. to disclose secret
quṣṭakibatānā	. to deceive
hap honā	. to become angry
galbarī karnā	. to make noise, to be excited.
perte phirnā	. to inform secretly

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b. GRAMMAR

There are several weighty differences in grammar. This subject is rather wide, but, avoiding as many details as possible, only a few characteristic features will be mentioned here. Although many of the differences still exist in the illiterate vernacular of the Dakhan, the writer has tried to compare as far as possible the language of Vajhī's Qutub Mushtarī (in 1608, A.D.) as a representative of the Dakhan, and that of Afzal's Bārāh Māsā (compiled in 1628, A.D.) as the representative of the North.

- 1). When the verb ^{is} transitive, the subject always requires in the North, the word "ne" after it, in tenses formed with past participle; whereas in the Dakhan it does not. And this process makes a lot of difference in the form of the sentences, e.g.:-

North	Dakhan	Meaning
us ne likhā	vo likhā	he wrote
unhō ne likhā	unō likhe	they wrote
un mardō ne likhā	vo mardā likhe	those men wrote
un 'aurtō ne likhā	vo aurtā likhe or likhyā	those women wrote

- 2). In the North the passive construction is used, and consequently the verb agrees both in number and gender with the logical object, whereas in the Dakhan the subject always governs the verb, and the number and gender of the object do not affect it. For instance, if the subject is masculine singular, and the logical object feminine singular, the predicate will be, in the north feminine singular, and in the Dakhan masculine singular. Thus the structure is changed. The following examples will give an idea of how the two forms differ in a rather interesting linguistic aspect:-

Predicate

Subject		Object	(North)	(Dakhan)	Meaning	
1. Masc. Sing.	fem. Sing.	fem. sing.	larke ne roti khāī	masc. sing.	larke roti khāya	the boy ate
2. "	" plur.	" plur.	larke ne rotiya khāī.	" "	larke rotiya khāya.	the boy ate
3. "	" sing.	" sing.	larke ne roti khāī	" plur.	larke roti khāe	the boys ate
4. "	" plur.	" plur.	larke ne rotiya khāī.	" "	larke rotiya khāe.	the boys ate
5. fem. sing.	masc. sing.	masc. sing.	larki ne laddū khāya.	fem. sing.	larki laddū khāī.	the girl ate
6. "	" plur.	" plur.	larki ne laddū khāe.	" "	larki laddū khāe.	the girl ate
7. "	" sing.	" sing.	larkiyo ne laddū khāya.	" plur.	larkiyo laddū khāe.	the girls ate
8. "	" plur.	" plur.	larkiyo ne laddū khāe.	" "	larkiyo laddū khāe.	the girls ate

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- 3). There is a difference in the use of auxiliary verbs also; several of the Northern ones are not used in the Dakhan, and are sometimes replaced by some other auxiliaries, e.g.:-

<u>North</u>	<u>Dakhan</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
denā:-		
mujhe dikhāī detā hai	mujhe dikhtā hai	It appears to me
Baithnā:-		
vo mujh se larbaithā	vo muj se larliyā	he quarellled with me.
Jānā:-		
vo mujhe tarpāe gaye	vo muje tarpātā-rahā.	he was continuing teasing me.

- 4). There is a great difference in making the plural of substantives:-

(a). In the Dakhan, to make masculine plural, the nasalized vowel ā is added to the singular. This rule is never applied in the North. There often the same word is used for singular as for plural.

<u>North</u>	<u>Dakhan</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
kaī mard the	kaī mardā the	there were several men
dhōl acche hai	dhola acche hai	drums are good
gunah bakhsh diya	gunahā bakhsh diya	pardoned the sin

<u>North</u>	<u>Dakhan</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
kitne kaghez hai	kitne kaghazā hai	How many are the papers
kaval khilrahe hai	kavalā khilrahe hai	Lotus flowers are blooming

(b). When the masculine singular ends in the vowel "ā", in the North, it is replaced by "e" in the plural; while in the Dakhan, the diphthong iā is used. This tendency was very common in ancient Dakhani; the following examples are taken from Qutub Mushtarī.

<u>Dakhan</u>	<u>North</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
sitāriā camakrahe the	sitāre camak rahe the	stars were shining
badīā hāz, ir hoe	bande hāz, ir hoe	the servants arrived
bureā sazā pāge	bure sazā pāge	the bad will get punishment
pardeā uthā diye gae	parde uthā diye gae	the curtains were raised
farishteā jāg pare	farishte jāg pare	the angels awoke

(c). For the feminine plural also, Dakhanis add "ā" after the singular, while in the North "e" is used. २-७.

<u>North</u>	<u>Dakhan</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
ye kinkī kitābē hai	ye kin ki kitābā hai	whose books are these
merī bātē ḥurī nahī	meri bātā ḥurī nahī	my words are not bad
ye kin ki davātē hai	ye kin kī davātā hai	whose inkpots are these
ākhe sūjh gai	ākha suj gai	the eyes are swollen
vo latē marta hai	vo latā marta hai	he is kicking

(d). In the Dakhan plural forms are not changed before prepositions. This tendency also makes quite a lot of difference in the form of the two dialects.

<u>North</u>	<u>Dakhan</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
<u>Masculine:-</u>		
admiyō ko mārā	admiyā ko mārā	killed the men
ḍholō se āwāz niklī	ḍholā se āwāz niklī	a noise came from the dhol
kāghazō ki ṭokrī	kāghazā ki ṭokrī	the basket of papers.
phulō ke gajre	phulā ke gajre	the garland of flowers.
<u>Feminine:-</u>		
kitāliō ke varāq	kitāliā ke varāq	the pages of books
davātō me siyabī nahī	davātā me siyabī nahī	there is no ink in the inkpots.
ākho ko band kiya	ākha ko band kiya	closed the eyes
'aqlō kī tezi	'aqlā ki tezi	the quickness of mind
kursiyo par baithe	kursiyā par baithe	sat on the chairs.

(e) In the Dakhan, Arabic and Persian rules are applied for

making the plural of Aryan and Dravidian words also,
e.g.:-

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
paṭṭa (field)	paṭṭa jāṭ
kunṭa (tank)	kunṭajāt
sarakh (road)	sarakhā
putṭa (lad)	putṭagān

5). Another difference worth considering between the two forms is in making compound words and phrases.

Northern Urdu observes very strict rules in this respect and it is the result of the complete Persianisation of the North.

- (a) The Persian conjunction "o" (meaning "and") must always be used between only the Persian and Arabic words. It cannot join one Indian and one Arabic or Persian word. Whereas in the Dakhan, even the literary men were free to use "o" between words of different languages. They used to join even two Aryan words with the Persian conjunction "o", e.g.:-

(1)
ghar-o-daulat (house and wealth) H. + A.

(1) The Persian "v" is always pronounced as the vowel "o" in Urdu

māh-o-sūraj	(the moon and the sun)	P. H.
bairāgī-o-udāsī	(ascetic and lonely)	H. H.
ghī-o-khushka	(butter and boiled rice)	H. P.

(b) In the same way, no compound word could be made by joining an Indian word with an Arabic or Persian one. On the other hand, the Dakhani writers have produced naturally many useful and fascinating compounds by joining words of different languages. This Dakhani tendency was very valuable for the widening of Urdu vocabulary, and producing different modes of expression in the language. The following examples are chosen only from the diwān of Valī Aurazzaliādī, and though their beauty cannot be realised by reading them in their isolated forms, the writer is at present content to produce the compounds only, as it would take much space to quote the full couplets:-

naqsh-e-caran	(foot-marks)	A. H.
jogī-e-dil	(ascetic heart)	H. P.
surat-e-pānī	(like water)	A. H.
āwaz-e-banslī	(sound of flute)	A. H.

mānind-e-bījī	(like lightning)	P. H.
mudda'ā-e-sakal	(aim of all)	A. H.
Āb-e-nayan	(tears)	P. H.
jabīn-e-mohan	(forehead of the beloved)	P. H.
lālī-e-cashm	(redness of eyes)	H. P.
hindū-e-hardwār	bāshī Hindu who lives in Hardwār)	
		H. H. P.
rashk-e-deval-e-ai	(jealousy of a Chinese temple)	
		A. H. H.

CHAPTER III.

URDU IN BĪJĀPŪR.

(1490 - 1686)

C O N T E N T S.

a. EARLY DEVELOPMENTS - UNDER THE FIRST FOUR KINGS 1490-1580

1. Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh - 1490-1510.
Shāh Mīrā Jī
2. Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh- 1510-1534.
3. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh- 1534-1557.
4. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh - 1557-1580.
Shāh Burhān

b. THE GOLDEN AGE OF URDU - UNDER THE LAST FOUR KINGS 1580-1686.

1. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II- 1580-1626.
a) Ātishī; b) Maqīmī; c) Amīn; d) Nūrī
2. Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh - 1626-1656.
and his Queen Khadījā Sulṭān.
a) Rustumī; b) Khushnād; c) Daulat.
3. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II - 1656-1673.
a) Nuṣratī; b) Malik; c) Amīn; d) Hāshimī;
e) Mirzā; f) Ayāghī
4. Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh - 1673-1686.
a) Sevā; b) Momin.

APPENDIX I.

A detailed List of Bījāpūr Authors and their Works.

APPENDIX II.

A detailed List of the Books written on Bījāpūr.

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EARLY DEVELOPMENTS - UNDER THE FIRST FOUR KINGS

(1490 - 1580)

- - - - -

When the great Bahmanī kingdom was losing its powers owing to the long civil wars, the first man who resolved to found a kingdom of his own was Yūsuf 'Adil Khā, the founder of the 'Adil Shāhs of Bijāpūr. This dynasty ruled for nearly 200 years and was at last destroyed by the strong army of Mughals under Aurangzib. In the meantime it not only reaped the literary crop grown by Bahmanī hands, but itself nourished so many poets and spread such a splendid literary culture that at the time of its downfall, it had nothing but poets and literary men in courts, as well as in streets. Although, at present, a very limited number of its works is extant when compared to that of the Golkunda productions, whatever is preserved some of it is very important as regards its nature. It was only at Bijapūr that very fine specimens of epic poetry were produced; and it is the

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kind of poetry in which Urdu is extremely poor.

The Bijāpūr kingdom was a true successor of the vast Bahmani empire. Yūsuf's early declaration of independence induced many scholars and literary men - apart from nobles and military officials - to join his court. Their hopes of being enriched and patronised by the Bahmani wealth were shattered by the unsettled condition of the capital and the weakness of the monarchs; moreover there was no other power in the Deccan at that time around which they could gather. Thus very soon great splendour began to reign in Adil Shāhī court.

YŪSUF 'ĀDIL SHĀH (1490 - 1510)

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There are many different statements about the early life of this brilliant founder. It is certain that he led a very unsettled and poor life in his childhood, and was originally introduced into the Bahmanī palace as a Turkish slave.

He first came into the public eye and received favours from the King after the death of his benefactor and friend, Nizām-ul Mulk Turk, one of the chief Bahmanī nobles, when he continued successfully the campaign which was led by his dead friend, and conducted safely to court all the rich plunder he captured.

After the death of his royal master, when dissensions began to prevail in the kingdom, he, by the help of the foreign officers and soldiers, founded a kingdom of his own in 1490. The most important event of his time which certainly might have affected Urdu, was the official promulgation of the Shī'a religion instead of the Sunnī one, and the giving of all political power into the hands of the Shī'as who were mostly foreigners and spoke languages other than Urdu.

He reigned for a long time - more than 20 years - and had to face many troubles in his own capital, as well as from his new

neighbours and rival kingdoms who tried their best to take part of his territories, so as to strengthen their own position. When Yūsuf died, he left his kingdom so powerful that it was then considered to be the greatest kingdom of the Deccan after the Bahmanīs.

All historical notices show that Yūsuf was a wise monarch well acquainted with men and eloquent of speech. He had great eminence for his learning, liberality and valour. He wrote elegantly and was a good judge of poetical merit; often composing verses himself. His taste and skill in music were superior to those of most of the masters of his time. He encouraged poets and musicians by princely rewards, and used to sing to his musical assemblies extempore verses. He invited many learned men, poets and artists from Persia and Turkey, to his court.

Unfortunately very small material now exists on which to consider and write about the progress of Urdu in his reign. There is no doubt it was spoken and also used as a literary language at that time. In old Persian histories, we still find a few chronograms about the important events of those days in Urdu, which show that it was commonly used to compose

1 See F.A. B.M., MS., Add.27251 Fol. 35 a.

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congratulatory, as well as elegiac poems on the leading events of public life. It is unlucky that the historians did not copy down the whole poems with the chronograms; it was, in fact, due to their writing histories in Persian, and moreover, most of the historians being foreign scholars who probably did not consider Urdu poetry to be worthy of being inserted in Persian works.

The chronograms which the present writer has found in old historical manuscripts and specially in the *Ahwāl-e-Salātīn-e-Bijāpūr* of *Pīr-zādā Ghulam Muḥiuddīn*, go so far back as 1479 A. i.e. even earlier than the foundation of the Bijāpūr kingdom. Those which were composed during the reign of Yūsuf are three in number and bear the dates, 1491, 1500 and 1510 A.D.

Apart from the Urdu chronograms we also find one Urdu Author of Yūsuf's reign. His name is *Shāh Mērā Jī*, and four of his works are yet found out.

SHĀH MĪRĀ JĪ (d. 1498)

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He is generally known by his title "Shams-ul-'Ushshāq". was among the great sūfīs of his time. After finishing his education with the Dakhan scholars, he went on pilgrimage to Arabia where he lived for a long time, spending twelve years in Madīnā alone. When he came back to the Dakhan, he settled himself outside the city of Bījāpur and became a disciple of Khājā Kamāluddīn Biyābānī who was the second Khalīfā of Khājā Banda Nawāz. He used to preach and teach derwīshes and students.

His date of birth is unknown, but his death occurred in 1498 as it is proved by the chronogram "Shams-ul-'Ushshāq" written by Zanjī, and also by a marsīa composed on his death by an unknown author. He was buried in Shāhpūr in the outskirts of Bījāpur, and his anniversary is still celebrated every year.

Shāh Mīrā Jī, although he was a great Arabic and Persian scholar, used to preach to his followers, and teach students in Urdu, and not only this, he wrote books in poetry and prose also in the same vernacular. Among his Urdu productions the

the following are still extant and are preserved by the secretary Anjuman -e- Taraqqī-e-Urdū, Aurangābād.¹

1. Khush Nāma. A maghawī containing 170 couplets and copied in 1657. It deals with a story of a young girl who died at the age of 17 in Shāh pūr, and who is all though the poem represented as a true devotee of her Murshid, whose ideal qualities are also particularly described in the poem.
2. Khush Naghz. This also represents the same girl, but is smaller, containing only 72 couplets. It is divided into nine chapters, each dealing with a certain religious subject upon which Mīrā Jī is being anxiously questioned by the girl.
3. Shahadat-ul-Haqīqat: This poem is his longest and most important composition, and has 563 couplets. It is entirely based on mysticism, and is composed in a Haidī metre. Its style and language is more simple and clear.

The poem conventionally begins with a description of praise to God, 'Alī and the poet's Murshid, and afterwards

1 See Urdu Magazine Vol. VII No. 26

describes many mystic doctrines in the form of a dialogue between a murīd and a murshid.

4. Sharh-e-Marghub-ul-Qutub: This last book is in prose and is very important as it is, up to the present, the second earliest ^{Dakhani} Urdu prose. After a long introductory part, the real book begins, which is divided into ten chapters relating to different religious duties of the Sufis.

Mīrā Jī's works, although not purely literary, are of great linguistic value, being of very early date. They are at present, the earliest written records of the Dakhani Urdu, and contain much useful information about the foundation of a Hindū-Muslim language in India.

ISMĀ'IL 'ĀDIL SHĀH (1510 - 34)

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Isma'īl was too young at the time of his accession and consequently the administration of the kingdom was left in the hands of the nobles. He was carefully brought up under the guidance of his aunt, a scholarly Persian woman. He was prudent and liberal, and was an artist in painting. In music and poetry he excelled the most of his age - his nom de plume was "Vafā'ī"¹. He was fond of the company of scholars and poets who were lavishly supported at his court.

But during the 25 years of his reign there was very little chance of Urdu being patronised in the Bijāpūr court, as he was thoroughly Persianised under the influence of his Persian lady tutor,² in spite of the fact that his mother was a Dekhanī Hind Princess.

1 See F.'A. (3.App.) Foll.57b - 58a.

2 See F!A. (3.App.) Foll.59a.

About this Persian influence, Farishta writes that¹ "he was fonder of the Persian and Turkish manners, music, and language than the *Dakhanī* which he seldom used."

Still there is no doubt that Urdu was progressing among the common people in this reign also, as we find eight chronograms in Urdu which bear the dates: 1513, 1519 (two), 1521, 1522, 1526 and 27, A.D. Moreover it was during this reign also that Shah Burhanuddin *Jānām* wrote a few of his works which will be dealt with later on.

1 Translation by J. Scott. See p. 256 of ^aFarishta History of the Dakhan. Vol. I . 1794

IBRĀHĪM 'ADIL SHĀH I (1534 - 57)

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Ibrāhīm was the youngest son of Isma'īl, and was quite a contrast to his father and grandfather in religion, ideas and manners. He publicly denounced the Shi'a religion, rejected the names of the Imams from the Khutba and restored the exercise of the Sunnī ceremonies. He was strictly against the Persian customs and manners, and entertained only Dakhanīs in his service. The public accounts which were being kept in Persian in the time of his father were again changed into Urdu, as they used to be in the time of the Bahmanīs, under the management of Brahmins who soon gained the same influence in the government.

It was, in fact, after the accession of this monarch to the Throne, that Urdu began to prosper in Bijāpur. If he had not been bold enough and taken steps against the Persianisation of the Dakhan, Urdu could not have gained ground again in Bijāpur.

Although his son and successor, 'Alī tried his best to establish once more, the Persian domination, Ibrāhīm's efforts were so deeply rooted that 'Alī's reaction did not affect the

popularity of the Urdu language.

It is rather unfortunate that, in spite of all this patronising, no Urdu work of Ibrāhīm's reign has been found. The only man whose Urdu writings of this period are extant, is Shāh Burhānuddīn Jānem, who will be mentioned in 'Alī's reign, because he died nearly at its end. There are two chronograms belonging to this reign, bearing the dates:- 1545 and 1557.

'ALĪ 'ADIL SHĀH I (1557 -80)

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This clever prince was a great book-lover; his private library is reported to have possessed several thousand volumes. He used to have with him 400 boxes of books even in his journey. Sometimes he bought ordinary manuscripts at very big prices. He followed the Shī'a religion, he gathered around him large numbers of Sayyids and Shī'a scholars² from Persia. He showered his wealth lavishly on poets and literary men, thus emptying the whole treasure accumulated by his careful father.

The only Urdu writer, yet ^{known} however, of his time, is Shāh Burhānuddīn Jānam who wrote many books in poetry, as well as in prose. There are also eight Urdu chronograms belonging to the reign which bear the dates:- 1557, 59, 60, 63 (four in number and 66 A.D.)

1 See F.'A. (3 Appendix) Fol. 146b.

2 " " " " 143a.

SHĀH BURHĀNUDDĪN JĀNAM (d.1582)

He was the son and Khelife of Shāh Mīrā Jī, the first Urdu writer of Bijāpur, under whose guidance he was brought up and consequently became a great scholar and Sūfī himself. He used to preach and teach in Urdu, and has written many books in it:-

1. Vasīyat-ul-Hādī, a "masnawī" dealing entirely with "taṣawwuf".
2. Sakh Suhīlā, a "tarkīb band" of 56 couplets, having particular "misra'" after each "band" of 3 lines. It is composed to teach the "murīds" (disciples) about the knowledge of divine Self.
3. Manfe'at-ul-Īmān, a masnawī of 120 couplets describing the beliefs of heretics and advising the "murīds" to be careful about them. This is one of Shāh Burhān's best works as regards style.
4. Nukta-e-vahid, a Masnawī on the Unity of God defended by composing couplets, one beginning by each alphabet. There are two poems of this kind, one of 12 couplets and the other of 29.
5. Nasīm-ul-Kalām, a poem of 45 couplets, giving commentaries on Qurānic phrases and Ihādīs.

6. **Rumūz-ul-vāsillīn**
7. **Bashāret-uz-Zikr**, 60 couplets
8. **Hajjat-ul-Baqā** (805 couplets). On the qualities and unity of God, written in the form of a dialogue between a disciple and a saint.
9. **Bayān-e-Khulāṣa**. About this poem, the secretary, **Anjuman-e-Taraqqī-e-Urdu**, who has collected all these manuscripts, and has written an article also on them, himself doubtful whether it was written by Shāh Burhān or by one of his disciples, although it is certain that it was written in his time.
10. **Irshād Nāmā**. This is the lengthiest poem of Shāh Burhān, nearly 2500 couplets, and is probably his most complete work handed down to us. It begins with the conventional ascriptions of praise to God, Muḥammad, the poet's murshid and father, Shāh Mīrā Jī; and then, like his father, the poet states the reason for composing it in Urdu. The main portion of the poem is in the form of a dialogue and presents, more extensively, all those

Sūfī doctrines and beliefs which are, in fact, the subject matter of his other poems also. At the end Shāh Burhān has inserted its date of composition, which is 1582, most probably the date of the poet's death also.

11. Shāh Burhān has left many dohrās and ghazals also which prove that he was not only a simple sūfī, but had a good taste in poetry also.
12. Like his father, Shāh Burhān left some Urdu prose; one book Kalimat-ul-Haqq, is worth mentioning, for it is of great value in the researches of the Dakhani language.

A few general characteristics of Shāh Burhān's works

1. His style is simpler than his father's works.
2. He avoided Arabic and Persian words as far as possible.
3. His poetical work is free from conventional restrictions of poetry. He very seldom bothers about the strict Persian rules of Qāfiyas and radifs.
4. His poems are not simply metrical sūfī doctrines and beliefs like those of his father; they often show glimpses of real poetic taste, and are not boring to the reader.
5. The linguistic side of his work submits much valuable material to work upon, as in fact nearly 8,000 lines of his poetry are extant at present.

(b) THE GOLDEN AGE OF URDU - UNDER THE
LAST FOUR KINGS (1580-1626)

1. IBRAHĪM 'ADIL SHĀH II (1580-1626)

It was from the time and by the efforts of this king that Urdu began to blossom vigorously in Bijāpūr. His long reign - he ruled for 46 years - strengthened the kingdom to such an extent and made its interests so powerful that no neighbouring power afterwards ventured to interfere in the Bijāpūr affairs. The latter half of his reign was really the beginning of the golden age of Bijāpūr which reached its culmination in the time of his son and successor, Muhammed.

Ibrahīm was not only a true successor of his generous and book-loving uncle, 'Alī, but was a great scholar, literary man, poet and musician himself. His court was crowded by so many great Persian scholars and poets that no other Indian court, with the only exception of Akbar's, had ever excelled it. He had around him illustrious men like Abu'l Qāsim Farishta, Rafī'uddīn

Ibrāhīm Shīrāzī (both great historians whose works are still only authorities on that time), Muṭṭā Zuhūrī, Maṭṭānā Bāqir, Malik Qumī, 'Abdul Qādir Naṭasī (great poets and writers), Rashīd Albastagī, Maṭṭānā Haider Zehnī, Ḥakīm Ātashī, Mirzā Maqīm, 'Imullāh Muḥaddis (great scholars), and Shāh Khalīlulla¹ (the great authority on calligraphy). The King himself wrote book Naures, in Urdu on music, to which the famous poet like Zuhūrī wrote an introduction.

Ibrāhīm was a great patron of Urdu. When he ordered a capital to be made, he gave it, and to all its palaces, gardens and streets, pure Urdu names.

He did a still greater service to Urdu, which will always bring him into the foremost rank of its benefactors; it was his inviting the Gujrātī poets and scholars to come and settle down in Bijāpur.²

As we have already mentioned in the first chapter, Gujrāt was one of those places where the Hindu-Muslim contact was in and consequently it caused the development of Urdu. The long and undisturbed reign of Gujrātī Muslim kings helped its writers to produce works in it, a few of which ^{manuscripts} ~~manuscripts~~ are still extant.

1 See A.S.B. (II. Appendix) Fol. 44b and also F.A. (App.) Fol. 299b
 2 " " Fol. 19a

in the European libraries also.

But this progress of Urdu in Gujrat was totally and for ever disturbed by the invasions of Mughal armies, sent by Akbar, who afterwards completely destroyed the whole kingdom. When Gujrat no longer remained a peaceful abode, and lost its royal court where the poets and literary men were patronised, many of them began to wander here and there, and others who could not leave their native places, were left to experience several kinds of trouble at the hands of new and everchanging Mughal governors and generals. It was at this critical moment that Ibrahim's watchful mind made him perform a generous and wise act; he sent his men to Gujrat with rich presents and large sums of money, and invited many of the scholars and literary men to his capital. Ultimately in a very short time, nearly all the literary splendours of Gujrat began to reign in Bijapur. Not only the illustrious men, but many of the common people also may have migrated into Bijapur. It is, as has already been discussed in the first chapter, this Gujrat influence that made some Bijapur authors mention in their works that they wrote their books in the Gujrat tongue, although they, although they are not quite different from the pure Dekhani ones.

Ibrahim was the first king to write a long poem in Urdu. Its name is "Naures", and it probably deals with music. Two manuscripts of this valuable work are extant in the library of

the Asiatic Society of Bengal. As the present writer has not seen it, and moreover, nobody has yet written anything about it, he is unable to state its characteristics. Ibrāhīm's contemporary historians, however, mention its name with many congratulatory lines. * The great "Seh Naṣṣr-e-Zuhūrī" (the three prose pieces of Zuhūrī) which was published several times, and forms a part of post-graduate Persian examination courses in many of the Indian Universities, was written as an introduction to this royal Urdu work, and elaborately deals with its content.

Though it is certain that, in his reign, there were many Urdu writers, unfortunately very little material is yet known about them. The present writer, however, has been able to discover at least 4 poets who flourished under Ibrāhīm's auspices. Before proceeding to mention them, it is necessary to write about those Urdu chronograms relating to this reign, which were also gathered by the writer, from Persian manuscripts. They are ten in number, and deal with the dates:-

A.D. 1580, 84, 86, 90, 1600, 21, 25 and 27 (1600)
chronograms.

ĀTISHĪ (about 1625-56)

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Hakīm Sayyid Ātishī was a great Persian poet, scholar, and physician, and as is explicitly mentioned ^{in an} Āhwāl¹, used to compose Urdu poetry also.

The present writer has fortunately found out two authentic sources of information about his life. One (i.e. Futūhāt-e-ʿAdil Shāhī) was compiled when Ātishī was a young man, and the other (some history referred to by the author of Āhwāl) when he was old.

From the first work we come to know that he was a descendant of an honourable Sayyid family of Shirāz. "Ātish" was his family name because one of his ancestors, in order to prove that he was a true Sayyid, sat on fire and came out of unhurt. Although Ātishī was young when this work was compiled (i.e. in 1643), yet he had acquired much popularity owing to his high attainments and refined culture. The historian, who was then quite an old man, seems to have been much impressed by this youth. He had himself read Ātishī's one hundred and fifty thousand couplets. They comprised all kinds of poetry

1 See B.M., Add. Ms. 26270 Fol. 30 ?

ghazals, qasidas, masnawis, ruba'is, etc. And in spite of being such a prolific poet, the young man was very courteous and modest.

After praising his poetical qualifications and personal character, the old historian has proceeded to record the success of Ātishī's medical career. He was a king's physician and was very highly honoured. Once when a great minister became seriously ill and his physicians lost all hope of his recovery, the king asked Ātishī to treat him.

Ātishī cured the minister in three weeks. The king was much pleased and increased his salary and honour. The minister too, rewarded the royal physician with two big elephants, many Arab horses, a very costly robe and jewelled armour. Ātishī had just then completed his "Ādil Nāmā", an account¹ of the battles of the Bijāpur kings.

From the second source we do not get any other information about the poet. It, however, states that along with Persian poetry, he used also to compose Urdu. Ātishī is lavishly praised in this history too, although no valuable facts are recorded.²

1 See F.A. Fol. 304a-306a., B.M. MS., Add. 27251

2 See A.S.B. Fol. 30a,b., B.M. MS. Add. 26270

It is certain that his Urdu work was popular in those days; unfortunately nothing is at present known about them.

MUQĪMĪ (about 1625-86)
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Mirzā Muḥammad Muqīm, like Ātishī, was a great Persian poet. He belonged to a family of Sayyids of Astrāḥād in Persia, and in his childhood left his native town with his father who took him to the sacred places in Arabia. After the pilgrimage, they visited Shīrāz, which was then the centre of Persian learning and culture. Unfortunately the old man died there, and Muqīm had to seek some patronage. He consequently journeyed to India and blossomed in the generous court of Bijāpur. He was still a young man when Fūzūnī completed his history in which he is mentioned, not as a great scholar, but as a good poet.¹

In Ahwāl also, Muqīm's poetry is highly commended. He by then became a poet of established fame, his diwān was considered an attractive literary work, and he used to compose Urdu poetry also.²

1 See B.M. MS. Add. 27251 Foll. 306a-308b

2 See B.M. MS. Add. 26270 Foll. 30b-31a

Urdu

Nothing is stated about Muqīm's/work in contemporary histories, but one of his masnawī is referred to by Amīn, a contemporary Bijāpur poet, in his Bahram-o-Bānū Husn, which was completed in 1639 by another poet Daulet. Amīn says that when he read Muqīm's work, he himself was tempted to compose one on his lines.¹ He unfortunately does not give the name of Muqīm's masnawī; in Sprenger's catalogue, however, two Dekhani masnawī are mentioned which were composed by rather an ancient poet Muqīmī. One is Iskandar Badan-o-Mahyar of nearly 550 couplets, and the other the story of Somhar of 350.¹⁽¹⁾

The first masnawī is preserved in the India Office Library also. In the catalogue it is wrongly attributed to some poet Asiz. The compiler was probably mistaken by a couplet on folio 106 b which means: "Now, my friend, relate the purpose of this story." and not: "the poet Asiz relates the purpose of this story." The real nom de plume of the author may be found on folios 105a, 106a, and 151a.

At one place in the Masnawī the author mentions Ghawwasī if he had seen his work Saif-ul-Mulūk-u-Badī'-ul-Jamāl.

1 See B.B.Husn. B.M., MS. Add p. 26528 Fol. 3 a

This fact makes one doubt whether Muqīmī himself was a poet of Golkundā, and consequently the present writer had to study the contemporary Golkundā histories carefully, but he could not find any poet of this name. The official biography of 'Abdull Quṣub Shāh no doubt shows that there was a courtier Mullā Muḥammad Muqīm who was often favoured by the King. He was several times sent as an ambassador to the Mughals, and especially to Aurangzib. But it is nowhere mentioned that he was a poet and it may not be considered out of place to state that Muqīmī who wrote Cẖandar Badan-u-Māhyār was in fact the great Persian poet of Bijāpur who, it is certain, composed Urdu poetry also. It is quite probably that Ghawwāsī's masnawī had become so popular that it was read even by many Bijāpur poets, and that, like Nusratī, Muqīmī thought it advisable to mention it in his work.

The date of composition is not given in the India Office manuscript, but it is certain that Cẖandar Badan-o-Māhyār, was composed sometime between 1625 (when ~~Ghawwāsī~~ Ghawwāsī composed Saif-ul-Mulūk-o-Badī'-ul-Jamāl which is mentioned in it), and 1639 (when Daulat completed Bahram-o-Bānū Husn in which it is mentioned).

This masnawī is one of the few original productions of the Dakhan. The author is glad he has not stolen his story from other sources; still he does not praise himself, because he says it is generally done by mean people. It is probable that, be

a distinguished Persian poet, he did not think it worth while to take a pride in his Urdu work.

Muqīmī's Urdu style is not rich and entertaining, and unfortunately the manuscript abounds in mistakes of caligraphy. The story is made up of more natural and every day matters than those on which the greatest original story of Golkunda, i.e. Qutub Muṣṭarī^h, is based, although it is not equal to the latter in poetic merits. In plot it resembles to a great extent, Mīr's Maṣnawī Shu'la'-e-Ishq.

AMIN (d. before 1639)

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There is great confusion about the poets whose nom-de-plume was Amin. No writer has yet been able to solve the difficulty and, although the present writer has tried his best to remove the complications, he is not yet sure whether his is the last word on this subject.

In his opinion, there were four different poets whose name or nom-de-plume was Amin, and probably the first two were from Bijapur, whereas the others belonged to Golkonda. They are:-

1. Amin of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah's reign (i.e. 1580-1626) the author of Bahram-o-Banu Husn.
2. Shah Amin (generally called Sh.Aminuddin A'la), of 'Ali 'Adil Shah's reign (i.e. 1656-73); the author of many religious Urdu works.
3. Amin of 'Abdullah Qutub Shah's reign (i.e. 1624-72); the author of Qissah-e-Abu Shahmah.
4. Shaikh Muhammad Amin, who flourished after the Mughal conquest of the Deccan; the author of Yusuf Zalikhah.

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As the last three poets will be discussed in their proper place, we shall present here our arguments concerning only the first Amīn.

(1)
In the British Museum catalogue, a Dehlanī Masnawī Bahrām-o-Bānā Husn is mentioned, and it is stated that the author was a poet Daulat. But the present writer has found out that its real author was not Daulat, but a certain poet Amīn as is proved by both its prologue and its epilogue.

But it seems that Amīn did not finish his work. Perhaps he died before completing it, because Daulat who afterwards completed it, and who will be discussed later on in the reign of Muhammad 'Adil Shāh, mentions him, in its epilogue, as if he were dead.

That this Amīn was a Bijāpūr poet is proved by the facts that:-

1. In the prologue he refers to a Bijāpūr work, i.e. Mirzā Muqīm's masnawī, as has already been pointed out.

(1) See Hindustani MSS p.30; MS. No. 43

(2) A detailed article on this subject by the writer has been published in the Urdu Majallah-e-Maktabah, Hyderabad Dn. Nov.1928, pp.27-45.

(3) See Muqīmī in the preceding pages.

2. Daulat who completed his work was a Bījāpur poet. (1)
 There was no poet of this name in Golkunda. Moreover it does not seem probable that a Golkunda poet should have completed a work begun by a Bījāpur writer.

Amīn's maḡnawī throws very little light on the life of the author. It only shows that the author belonged to the Hanafī sect of Islam, and that was a murīd (disciple) of certain ṣūfī, Shāh 'Ālam. His extraordinarily humble opinion of himself proves that he was not a worldly man, though a good poet. He composed this maḡnawī after perusing a Persian one on the same subject.

There is a manuscript of a Persian maḡnawī in the British Museum which was also composed by some Amīn, and which is, perhaps, a copy of the same work seen by our Urdu poet Amīn. The present writer has compared this Persian work with Amīn's Urdu maḡnawī, and found that the latter is perhaps a translation of the Persian one. (2)

Amīn was a true poet. His style is fluent and natural; and, considering that he was one of the earliest Bījāpur writers, his language seems to be very developed

1 See Daulat on p.

2 See the writer's article referred to in the preceding foot note.

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NURĪ (about 1600)

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Some writers have confused this poet with another Nūrī who was a later poet, and who will be discussed in the coming chapter.

This Nūrī was a great Persian poet, and is believed to have been a friend of Faizī, the poet-laureate of the Emperor Akbar's court. Qāim writes that he was a qāzī-zāda of A'zam pūr, a town in Northern India, and that a few of his Urdu ghazals, in the style of old poetry (he means the Dakhani poetry), were recited in his days.

Some writers state that this Nūrī came to Bijāpūr in the time of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh, and laid the foundation of Urdu murgia writing in the Dakhani by composing several Urdu murgias. But the present writer has not been able to get any reliable information about this statement.

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- (1) See Makhzan-e-Nikāt, by Qāim Chād pūrī, Ind. Office Ms. No. p pp.4-5
- (2) See (a) Dakhani me Urdu, by Māshimī, 1926, pp.46-47.
(b) Dastān-e-Urdu, by Khyāl. Lisān-ul-Mulk magazine Oct. 1923, pp.12-13

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MUHAMMAD 'ĀDIL SHĀH (1626-56)

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Muhammad's reign was, in every way, the golden age of Bijapur. He enjoyed a glorious and peaceful kingdom his life. During his time, the population was greatly increased, Hindu-Muslim unity reached its highest extent and many new schools were established in which for every subject and language, a separate teacher was appointed, and the students were given every kind of assistance. The king himself used to have in his palace an illustrious gathering of poets and men of learning for three hours daily in the morning, - and in the beginning of each year i.e. at Muharram, students, scholars and theologians were generously favoured and given presents.

His literary circle was more magnificent than even his father, Ibrāhīm's, for it ^{not} only inherited the great personalities of Ibrāhīm's court, but had itself acquired many and distinguished men like Shāh Nurullāh, Mullā Habibullāh, Mullā Muḥammad Ḥasan (great scholars), Ibrāhīm Sabhī, Mirzā Daulat Shāh, Kamāl ^{Ichā} Rustumī, Ibrāhīm Sabhī, Mirzā Daulat Shāh, Kamāl ^{Ichā} Rustumī, and the son of

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the famous Zuhūrī, Zuhūr (who left an authentic history of this reign called Mahmūd Nāmā).

Apart from the five Urdu chronograms dating 1628, 37, 49, and 58, three Urdu books written in this reign, also extant in form of manuscript. But before dealing with them in detail, it seems advisable to write a few lines about his great queen Khadījā Sultān.

KHADIJĀ SULTĀN

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The golden age of Urdu literature in Bījāpūr is greatly due to this magnificent queen also who was for a long time a strong power both in the literary and political activities of the 'Ādil Shāhī kingdom. Her full name was Khadijā Sultān Shahr Bānū and she was generally called Barē Shāhib (the grand master). Being a daughter of Muḥammad Quṭub Shāh, and sister of 'Abdullāh Quṭub Shāh she was from her childhood trained and brought up in the pure literary atmosphere which was the main period of the golden age of Urdu in Golkunda.

When after her marriage to Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh, she came to Bījāpūr, she found the same kind of literary environment here also, which was produced by her father-in-law Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh. Her literary tendencies led her to patronise the men of learning in this new place where she, very soon, gained a political eminence also.

Unfortunately, very little is to be found about her literary activities in existing material, yet there is enough evidence to show that she really benefited the

literary personalities of her age, that there were several poets attached to her own court, and that Mal Khushnūd was her most favourite poet and servant. In her old age, in the reign of her son 'Alī 'Adil Shāh, when she left Bijāpūr for a pilgrimage to Mecca, Bijāpūr poets wrote many poems and chronograms on this event, some of which are still preserved, and show how much she was beloved and honoured.

The greatest proof of her literary interests is to be found in Khawar Nāmā, which was composed at her request. The Persian epilogue of this bulky Urdu maghawī shows that Khadjā Sultān did not suggest any particular poet to translate the Persian book, but that she made an open announcement saying that the poet who should translate it, would be awarded a good prize, made the greatest favourite of those under her patronage, and that he would be considered the greatest poet of his time.

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KAMAL KHĀ RUSTUMĪ (about 1649)

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Rustumī, and not Rasenī as he is generally called, was the son of Ismā'il Khattāt Khā, and was employed at the court of Bijapur, where his ancestors had been in service for the past six generations, probably as royal calligrapher and had been honoured by the title of Khattāt Khā.

Rustumī had written several qaṣidas and gazals also about which, unfortunately, there is no other information except what is written in the Persian epilogue of the splendid manuscript of his maṣawī Khāwar Nāmā, in the India Office Library. It shows that he was a good poet as well as a prose writer; and that his Persian and Dakhanī qaṣidas and ghazals were perfect as regards the art of poetry.

Khāwar Nāmā is a metrical version of a Persian poem by Ibn-e-Hussām, written in the form of an epic, on the exploits and battles of the caliph 'Alī and his friends. It was composed, as has already been mentioned, at the request of Bare Ṣāhib Khadījā Sultān in 1649, and was completed in one and a half years. It contains 24,000

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couplets, and is perhaps the longest poem of the Dakhan language.

The manuscript which seems to be the only one now existing, is written in the style of great Persian books like the *Shah Nāmā* of Firdausī and the *Maṣnawī* of Rūmī. It contains coloured illustrations on nearly every page, some of them occupying the whole page, with the names of the principal persons depicted written over each.

There is no mention of the date and the caligraph of the manuscript whatever; the size, the paper, the calligraphy and the abundance of illustrations suggest that it was written for the royal library of Bijāpur. In such a big and splendid manuscript, one naturally expects to find very brilliant illustrations, on the contrary, they are rough and childish when compared with those of the *Gōlkundā* manuscript.

The poem begins with the praise of God and His creatures in which the poet represents the skies and planets under a separate heading. The next headings contain "Qualities of man" and "His eminence", "Munājāt" which probably is incomplete - and "Praise of Madīna". The last seems to be a final portion of Na't (praise of

the prophet) about which perhaps a few leaves are missing

The following heading - "About the night" is very important; it begins with compliments to Firdawsī who, the poet believes, was then in paradise. There is a good miniature showing Firdawsī, a young man with small beard and moustache, praying in paradise. It concludes by relating the reason for composing the work.

Like several other Dakhnai poets, Rustumī expresses his belief in everlasting popularity of the master poets and their poetry. He thinks that, although he has composed good many verses, he has not yet produced a long and permanent work. Consequently, when he wishes to start some such work, he finds that nothing is left by the ancient poets, to write about, and ultimately, he thinks it advisable to translate a good work. This idea was strengthened when the men of Khadijā Bānū began to persuade him by the impulse of her announcement, to translate Khawar Nām.

It is very interesting to note that, quite contrary to other big Dakhnai masnawīs, the praise of the reigning ruler is not included in this work. At the end, however, when the poet expresses his expectation of living by means of this production, although he does not exaggerate its qualities, he calls it a Shāh Nāmā, and hopes that the

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will be satisfied with it.

The curious fact about this masnawī is that its language and style are both more simple and fluent than that of those written even a long time after it. To write a big masnawī like this with such mastery of language could be expected only of one who was well practised in the art of poetry. Several of its passages seem like prose and not poetry. It is undoubtedly the biggest and the simplest masnawī of Bijāpur.

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MALIK KHUSHNŪD (about 1626-56)

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This poet was at first a Golkundā slave, and was brought up there in the palace of Muhammad Qulī Qutub Shāh. As he was a distinguished young man, he was sent to Bijāpur as a private servant of Princess Khadījā Sultān, the daughter of Muhammad Qutub Shāh, who was married to Muhammad 'Adil Shāh of Bijāpur. On her way to her bridegroom's city, Khadījā Sultān was much pleased by Malik Khushnūd's commendable management (probably of her dowry and other affairs) probably, and when she settled down in Bijāpur palace, he was duly honoured and given a good post, perhaps in the household.

As the queen was a great patron of literature, Khushnūd soon began to shine in that sphere, as will be shown later on. His good personal qualities served him in raising his social status to such an extent that in a few years, he was able to enjoy the position of nobleman and courtier, and that in 1635, he was considered capable of even performing the duties of an ambassador.

In Hadīqat-us-Salātīn, an authentic history of

42 119
Golkundā (see Appendix B, Chap. 4), we find a very valuable account of Khushnūd's highly honoured service as an ambassador, a summary of which is worth mentioning here.

In the year 1635, when King Muhammad 'Alī Shāh of Bijāpur was suffering from the dictatorship of his prime minister, Khawās Khā, he requested the help of his brother-in-law, King 'Abdullah of Golkundā whose devices at last proved him successful. Consequently he sent his great court poet Malik Khushnūd with many presents to express his gratitude in the Golkunda court. Many preparations were made in the Qutub Shāhī capital, to receive Malik Khushnūd, no other ambassador was received with so much pomp and splendour. Before entering the capital, many palace officials were sent to pay him respect, and take him with proper honours to the royal court.

Malik Khushnūd probably read a qasīdā in King 'Abdullah's praise who honoured him by giving him a special robe, and lodging him in the house of a great Hindu officer. And whenever he was given an audience, he was generously rewarded. At last when he left the Qutub Shāh's court for Bijapur, the king ordered his own court poet, Ghawāsī

(1) See H.S., B.M. Ms., Foll. 269-70

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accompany him to Bijapur.

These facts are more than enough to prove how Khushnūd enjoyed the highest honours, very seldom attained by people who start their careers as slaves.

It is certain that Malik Khushnūd may have written many qasīdās in praise of his royal masters, but, unfortunately, our knowledge of his work is very limited, and at present, we do not know anything about his works other than the two masnawīs:-

1. Yūsuf Zalīkhā, and,
2. Hasht Bihišt,

both probably translations of Khusrāu's works of the same titles.

His Yūsuf Zalīkhā is not now extant, and no more is yet known about it. A manuscript of his Hasht Bihišt however, is preserved in the British Museum. It also proves that Khushnūd was not an ordinary and unknown poet in his time but had finished a Dakhani Yūsuf Zalīkhā before commencing this work; his compositions had become popular, and the king, Muhammad 'Adil Shāh, was particularly kind to him.

This masnawī was written at the request of Muhammad

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'Ad,il Shāh. It deals with the life of Bahram Gor, the Persian king and his several wives. The date of its composition is not given anywhere in existing manuscripts.

In the British Museum catalogue (see p.23, Ms.50) the author is wrongly given as Muhammad Shāh, who in fact, was the calligrapher, whereas the name of the real author was Malik Khushnūd as it appears many times in the masnawī:-

pp. 76a, 78a, 80a, 108b, 117a, 130a, 149a, 162a, 174a, 176a, 178a, etc.,

The compiler of the catalogue was mistaken, probably on account of a couplet which appears among the last ones and was, perhaps, written by the author himself, in praise of the calligrapher's skill and labour.

The masnawī originally included 3,225 couplets, as the author himself has mentioned at the end, but in fact, the present manuscript contains only 2000 couplets.

A comparison with the Persian Hasht Bihisht of Khushnūd leads one to believe that Khushnūd was a good and faithful translator. He has very closely followed the original story and not ventured to introduce a single new item. There is very little originality in the whole book.

The prologue is indeed very valuable. After the

42 122
conventional ascriptions of praise to God, Muhammad, and 'Alī, there comes the most important introductory part which deals with the reigning monarch and the poet himself. There is a little information about Khushnūd's poetry in the epilogue also.

The style of this maghawī is somewhat obscure and complicated when compared with those written on the same subject in the Dakhan, viz:-

1. Bahrām-o-Gul Andām of Tab'ā, and
2. Bahrām-o- Bāmū Husn of Amīn and Daulat.

It lacks the simplicity of even its contemporary Bija pur production, i.e. Khāwar Nāmā.

DAULAT (about 1638-56)

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Mirzā Daulat Shāh was among the greatest Persian poets of 'Ādil Shāhī kingdom, and according to the author of Aḥwāl, composed Urdu poetry also. ⁽¹⁾ Although he is mentioned among Urdu writers contemporary with Nusratī, he was really an older poet. It is probable that owing to 'Ādil Shāh's patronising Urdu, Daulat totally avoided Persian composition, and joined the Urdu circle under the leadership of Nusratī.

As we have no information about any other Daulat of Bijāpur, it seems nearly certain that it was this poet who completed Amīn's Bahram-o-Bāmū Husn, in 1639. In its epilogue, Daulat has not given any information about himself. It only shows that its author was a great admirer of Sayyids (i.e. the descendants of 'Alī) and that he was a modest man.

The author of the Aḥwāl has praised his poetry and suggested that he was a witty and humorous poet. He was considered a master of his art, and always had innumerable followers and students.

(1) See Aḥwāl. B.M. Add. Ms. 26270 p.31a.

'ALĪ 'ADIL SHĀH II (1656-73)

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'Alī was brought up in the gorgeous literary atmosphere of his father's reign, and had a natural inclination for literature from his childhood. His mother was the famous Khadijā Sultān whose influence was working on him even when he was grown up and had become king.

He was educated with pure Urdu-speaking scholars, had become a good poet himself when he was still the heir apparent to the throne. Even at that time, he gathered many poets around him, and was so interested in literature that he induced many of his companions and servants also to write poetry. Moreover, he had acquired so much practise in composing poetry and had such a great confidence in his literary taste that he himself began to correct the compositions of his young companions, who were many in number; he was therefore called "Ustād-e-'Ālam" (the instructor of the world). His nom-de-plum was Shāhī. (1)

When he became king, even the Persian writers of

(1) See Basātīn. Fol. 93a. B.M. Add. 26269

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his father's court, like Mirzā Muqīm, Shāh Nūrullah, Mirzā Daulat Shāh, and Hakīm Ātishī began to write in Urdu also as is explicitly mentioned in their contemporary histories. They also state that he particularly patronised a large number of Urdu poets, and that Nusratī was officially awarded the title of "Malik-ush-Sho'rā" (the King of the poets).

At present, unfortunately, there is no trace of "Alī's" literary work, although his court historian Nūrullah says that Shāh Ahul Ma'ālī was in charge of collecting and compiling his productions. Among the many Urdu poets of his reign, we know more or less only about Nusratī, Shāh Malik, Shāh Amīn, Hashimī, Mirzā and Ayaghī.

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NUGRATĪ (d. 1674
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1. His parents: Their profession and religion.

It has often been said that Nugratī was either a Brahmin or a converted Muslim; Garcin de Tassy who was probably the first to state that he was a Brahmin, does not quote any reliable authority at all. (1) The old Pers. histories which mention Nugratī's poetry do not ^{discuss} ~~mention~~ this, although such events are generally their favourite topics. Moreover it is rather unusual in prejudiced muslim historians like Ṣahib Ḥaṣrat Ghulām Murtaza of Basātīn, and Pīrzāda Ghulām Mohīuddīn of Ahwāl to praise a Hindu or a converted poet in such a high tone. (2)

(1) See Hist. Lit. Hind. Vol. II pp. 485-87

(2) See (a) Basātīn by Zubairī, B.M., Ms., Add. 2542 pp. 104

(b) Ahwāl by Gh. Mohīuddīn B.M., Ms., Add 26 p.

(c) Ahwāl by Mīr J. Lur, B.M. Ms. Add 26270

(d) Waqī'at by Qāzī Sh. A. Ḥasan, B.M., Ms. Add. 26270

As far as external evidence goes there is no proof of Nusratī's or his parents' being other than Muslim; on the other hand internal evidence confirms this:- e.g.

1. Nusratī's profound knowledge of Arabic and Persian literatures, his knowledge of the specialities of Muslim theology, and his deep insight into the secrets of the Sūfī doctrines such as are found in many places in his poetry, especially in those parts of his masnawīs that deal with religious matters, are not to be expected of a convert of the 'Ādil Shāhī period.
2. At the end of the praise of Khājā Banda Nawāz in Gulshan-e-'Ishq, Nusratī writes about his forefathers in this way:-

"I thank God because several generations of my forefathers were your (Kh. B. Nawāz's) slaves (spiritual); and that I myself am always engaged in your service." (See B.M. Ms., Or.1059 Fol. 20a.)

3. In the same work, in continuation of the eulogy of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, he relates about his original profession that:-

"I was originally a loyal soldier, and it was you (the King) who brought me up and created in me such culture and refinement that I became a poet" (Fol. 20b.)

4. In Gulshan-e-Ishq there is at one more place still stronger evidence where Nusratī writes that his father was a brave and faithful soldier, who was always ready to lose his head for the king's cause, and that he used to take the poet also with him to all learned societies and had appointed several teachers for his son's education. (See 7 couplets at the end of Fol. 27)

All this evidence proves that:-

- (a) Nusratī's forefathers were Muslim soldiers.
- (b) Had a strong belief in Khāja Banda Nawāz,
- (c) His father was an official in the army with a rank of Silāhdār, and
- (d) He himself was a king's soldier, probably of the prince's body guard, before he was selected by the then heir-apparent, 'Alī to be trained as a favourite poet.

II His early life.

Nusratī is among those very few ancient poets who have left information about their life. In Gulshan-e-Ishq, under the heading Hash-e-hāl-e-Khud (about myself) he has very plainly mentioned that his father used to take great care of him in his childhood, never left him

cut took him

everywhere he went. He appointed several teachers for his son's education, who were particularly kind to the boy. His education was not a burden to them. Consequently he had gone through many books before he was a youth, and (1) already acquired a taste for poetry.

These statements are confirmed by his poetry also which certainly proves that he had a fair knowledge of Persian and Arabic, and that his religious education was also sound.

In the same place, Nusratī speaks about the early beginning of his career also which proves that he was not a soldier for a long time. He was selected to be trained by the Prince 'Alī at a time when both were young; the prince perhaps only sixteen or seventeen years old, for he became king when he was only nineteen; and Nusratī also (2) as it appears from several of his statements, was only a youth.

As soon as the prince made Nusratī his favourite, he

(1) See the last four couplets of Fol. 27b. Ms. Or. 10

(2) See specially the nine couplets.

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poetry began to blossom, and he very soon became prominent in the public eye.

As has already been mentioned, Prince 'Alī himself was a poet, and wanted his servants also to follow his example; and not only so, but his enthusiasm led to his correcting his followers' poems. Nusratī always mentions him not only as a patron king but as a revered teacher also. His eulogies are not like those of other poets praised their patrons only for the sake of praise; in his eulogies his close familiarity with, and sincere respect of the king is everywhere evident:-

- (a). See the praise of 'Adil Shāh in Gulshan-e-'Ishq. 7 couplets on Fol. 26b.
- (b) See the concluding lines of Gulshan-e-'Ishq; 3 couplets on Fol. 190.
- (c) See in the prologue of the same poem, under the heading of Manqibat (praise of Caliph 'Alī); 2 couplets Fol. 184.
- (d) See in the prologue; 4 couplets Fol. 22a.

When 'Alī became king, Nusratī was called for and was duly honoured; the king made him his court poet began to take a special interest in his poetry, and probably raised his salary to such an extent that he

no more need to think about his livelihood.

III His religion and character.

Nusratī was a sunnī Muslim:-

1. He praises the first three caliphs as well as 'A (1)
in both the magnawīs, although he devotes a great space to the latter.
2. He praises the famous Sunnī/saint Khāja Banda Naw (2)
at several places in both the works.
3. He very clearly points out, as has already been shown, that he and his family was murīd (disciple) of the said Sufī; and it is evident that no Shī can call himself a murīd.
4. He believes in the Sufī doctrines, uses their conclusive and complicated technical terms, and considers himself a sūfī; whereas Shī'as very seldom believe in sūfism.

The following references help a great deal in

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- (1) See (a) 'Alī Nāmā, B.M. Ms. Add. 26527 Fol. 10
(b) Gulshan-e-'Ishq. B.M. Ms. Or. 1059 Fol.
 - (2) See (a) Alī Nāmā Fol. 14 b - 15 a.
(b) Gulshan-e-'Ishq Fol. 18b - 20b.

strengthening the above arguments:-

- (a) In prologue of Gulshan-e-'Ishq, see 2 couplets on folio 8a.
- (b) In prologue of 'Alī Nāmā, see 5 couplets on folio
- (c) All his friends like Qāzī Karīmullah, Shāh Abul Ma'ālī, and Shāh Nurullah, who will be mentioned later on also, were sunnis, and Nusratī used to go to pray with them; see Q.'Ishq Fol. 36 a.

At the same time, Nusratī did not seem to follow his religious duties strictly, for which his god-fearing nature used to rebuke him. In the beginning of Gulshan-e-'Ishq, he repents of his sins, and thanks God whole-heartedly, because he favoured him with a successful life in spite of all his unthankfulness and negligence of religious duties.

His ḡufī bent of mind influenced his standard of morality also. Although he seems to have had a successful worldly life, was the great poet, and his production had become popular in his own life-time, still he did not consider himself a worldly man. He longs for a saintly life, and wishes his poetry to be esteemed by Sūfīs.

He did not want his work to be more successful and appealing merely for the sake of gaining still more popularity and fame, but because he deemed it to be an instrument for enlightening and encouraging his contemporaries (1) poets as well as readers.

Whenever he praises his own compositions, he very candidly states the reason that it is not due to his pride or self-centredness, but to support and defend his native country (the Dakhan) against those who consider Dakhani poetry to be quite unworthy of attention.

- (a) While relating the cause of composing 'Alī Nāma, he discusses the above arguments in 10 couplets that occur on Fol. 24 of the B.M., Ms.
- (b) In Gul-'Ishq, while praising King 'Alī A. Shāh he has defended the Dakhani verse very strongly in five couplets that occur on fol. 190 of the B.M., Ms.

Nugratī was the only poet of Bījāpūr who had a keen interest and special regard for his native country; the

(1) See the opening lines of 'Alī Nāma and Gulshan-e-'Ishq. They are presented in the writer's published article also.

love of his mother-land is evident in several places in his work.

IV. His court life and friends.

Although Nusratī's literary activities began during the reign of Muhammad 'Adil Shāh, when his patron 'Alī was the heir-apparent, it seems that he had no worldly eminence at that time, as he says "when 'Alī became king, he called for me and benefitted me to such an extent that since the (1) I became independent of worldly cares and anxieties."

It was this encouragement that tempted him to begin to compose Gulshan-e-'Ishq, which he completed just after one year, i.e. in 1658. In it he has expressed his gratitude to its full extent, and has very modestly showed that as a matter of fact, his poetry was worth nothing, it was only due to the king's patronage that it was highly valued.

It is difficult to say for how long Nusratī maintained his honour and popularity in the Royal court. He was undoubtedly enjoying it for the next eight years as is shown in his next and probably, greatest work, 'Alī Nāma, and the different gasīdas which were composed during this period; and there is no reason why he could lose it during the next

(1) See Gulshan-e-'Ishq, fol. 29

seven years, i.e. before the death of 'Alī in 1673.

In "'Alī Nāma" the cause of its being composed is very important. It shows how the poet was obliged to begin with those who were his court friends, and what position he had in the king's court. By it, we come to know that the relations between the patron and the poet were exceedingly sincere and informal. He used to be always with the king, and was more of a companion than an official poet. Sometimes he used to spend whole nights with the king, in company with other famous scholars and poets. (1)

But at the same time, it is very curious to see that in this poem he has written a few lines indicating that he was at that time somehow or other distressed, and as it is difficult at present to find out exactly what he means by them, one can only guess that maybe his two friends or relations had died at that time. (2)

At one more place, we get a glimpse of his private life. At the end of his qasīda, number five, he complains that he could not compose a better qasīda as he was troubled at that time. But he has mentioned only one

(1) See 13 couplets at the beginning of Fol. 22 b.

(2) See Fol. 19

trouble which throws sufficient light on the matter, viz, that, although his court life was glorious, his private life was miserable. It explains that:-

1. He had trouble with his son who was mischievous, and used to run away with, and probably, sell his father's things.
2. His house was very small and was not at all comfortable. It could not protect him in rain, and there was very little furniture in it.

(This description of the house is very interesting, and quite comparable to that of Mir's.)

3. His neighbours were low and wretched people, they always used to quarrel with each other and disturb Nusratī in his peaceful life. ⁽¹⁾

Nusratī's broadmindedness and noble character had made him familiar and popular with important personalities of his day. Apart from external evidence, we find in Gulsh-e-Ishq itself some proofs of his popularity. When writing of the reason for composing it, he quotes the words of his friend Ibn-e-'Abd-us-Samad which show how much he was admired by his contemporaries. ⁽²⁾

(1) As these matters are described in several couplets, would be sufficient here to point out only 8 lines Fol. 62

(2) See 5 couplets, Fol. 37

There is no evidence either in his work or in any other place, as there is about his contemporary Qutb Shāhī poets, which proves that he had any literary rival, or that other poets used to envy his lot. On the other hand, it is evident from a few couplets that he and his friends were considered patrons of literature, and that they used to help other poets and literary men by presenting them in the king's court.

Among those friends whom Nūgratī has himself mentioned the following were very eminent:-

1. Qāzī Sayyid Karīmullāh.

He was probably the chief justice of the high courts of Bijāpur, and as Nūgratī writes, was a real Sayyid and a profound scholar. It was this man who proposed that Nūgratī should write the story of the king's campaign, especially against the Mughal invaders. (1)

2. Shāh Nūrullah.

He was the author of the official "History of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh" in Persian, a manuscript which is preserved in the British Museum. About his qualities and of

(1) See Alī Nama, Fol. 20 a.

his history, Nusratī writes in very high praise. (1)

3. Shāh Abul Ma'ālī.

He is the scholar and poet whom Nusratī has praised in more than one place. He was not only the keeper and collector of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh's poetry, but was (2) a good poet and prose writer himself.

4. Ibn-e-'Abd-us-Samad.

The real name of this friend is, unfortunately, still unknown. He was very familiar with the poet, had a good taste in poetry, and was a wise man. He had a good insight into the poet's mind, the (3) latter used to consult him in his private affairs.

(1) See 'Alī Nāma, Fol. 20 a.

(2) See 'Alī Nāma, Fol. 21

(3) See Gulshan-e-Ishq, Fol. 37

NUSRATĪ'S WORKS

The present manuscripts of his works contain:-

1. Two masawīs.
2. Nine qasīdahs.
3. A few qat'as.

A collection of his ghazals was also found in the library of Tipu Sultān, but it is doubtful whether it existed now or was completely destroyed.

1. Gulshan-e-'Ishq.

This is probably Nusratī's first important composition. It was begun just after the accession of his patron 'Alī to the throne of Bījāpur in 1656, and was composed in one year.

It is rather curious to find Nusratī mentioning its introductory part, only Ghawavāsī's masnawī "Saif-ul-Mulūk-u-Badī'ul-Jamāl", and not those which were produced in his own city. He could not, in any case, have forgotten to mention the most bulky masnawī of an earlier time, i.e. "Khawār Nāma" of Rustamī, which was written by the impulse of an ope

competition. The only reason why he has mentioned an owing to his generous character, even praised a foreign maghawī, may be the fact that "Saif Badī-ul-Jamāl" was introduced into Bijapur societies only at that time, and that its extraordinary popularity there provoked the Bijapur lovers of literature to produce one in imitation. Thus when he and some of his friends were one day discussing the subject of translating Persian romances, I e-'Abd-ur-Rahmān suggested to him to translate the story of Prince Manohar in Dakhnī verse.

In the beginning of the maghawī, there is a long prologue in imitation of the Persian ones, and which contains ascriptions of praise to God, Muhammad, 'Alī and Khāja Banda Nawāz, with a eulogy of the king 'Alī of Bijapur.

Gulshan-e-'Ishq has no special distinguishing features, and is composed in the style of one of its predecessor Bijapur maghawīs i.e. "Hasht Behisht" of Malik Khushnūd. It lacks in simplicity of language when compared with the "Khawar Nāma" of Rustamī, although it excels it in the description of human pathos.

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It is undoubtedly far superior to some of its contemporaneous Golconda productions which will be discussed later on.

II 'Alī Nāmā

This masnawī is a metrical account of the reign, from the beginning, i.e. 1656, down to 1666, and the battles of the poet's patron, 'Alī 'Adil Shāh of Bijāpūr, and is, no doubt, the most important existing work not only by Musratī, but in the Bijāpūr literature itself. All through the poem the author introduces qasīdahs and qat'as also, which give very valuable accounts of the king's court and his military exploits.

The poem was not completed in 1661 as is wrongly mentioned in the India Office Library manuscript; it was really finished in 1666, as is evident by a line (1) in the British Museum manuscript which is perhaps the most complete and correct of the existing ones.

'Alī Nāmā is a longer poem than "Gulshan-e-'Ishq, but its bulk would be greatly reduced if the qasīdahs were to be excluded. The masnawī itself is neither very long nor of a great literary value.

(1) See Fol. 116 b.

Its prologues follow the same kinds of lines of ascriptions of praise as are used in "Gulshan-e-'Ishq". And of course it is all due to these prologues that one comes to know something about the poet himself.

'Alī Nāmā is more or less an epic, although it does not rise to the level of "Khawar Nāmā". It is no doubt superior to it in historical value, and also on account of being an original work. Its style is more simple than that of "Gulshan-e-'Ishq". It is the first biography in Urdu literature, and is among the few authoritative and valuable documents about the last days of 'Adil Shāhī kingdom.

It is the only source of knowledge about the rise of Urdu in Bijāpūr in general, and the position of 'Alī among its few great patrons in particular.

III His qasīdās.

Nugratī's qasīdās which are nine in number, and were composed at different times between the years 1661 and 1664 A.D., are not separately collected. Seven of them occur during the masawī 'Alī Nāmā, and two form the metrical headings of the chapters of both his masawīs - 'Alī Nāmā and Gulshan-e-'Ishq. Their chief characteristics are:-

1. Although they were undoubtedly written in imitation of Persian qasīdahs, they are quite original in poetic spirit, and exceedingly free from Persian mannerisms.
2. The zamīns (i.e. the metre, rhyme, and qāfyah), of some qasīdahs are so difficult and complicated, yet so successfully handled that one even begins to doubt whether they were written at such an early stage of Urdu.
3. The language is more freely used in them, and very seldom does one find those complications which frequently occur in compositions of other poets of the time. They very strongly prove how great a master Muḡratī had over his language and phrases.

Apart from these characteristics of language and style, there are a few as regards subject matter and ideas that are worth considering, as they have some distinguishing features when compared to those of the great Urdu qasīdah-writers of Northern India:-

1. They contain comparatively a small number of eulogistic couplets.
2. They deal with more events and matter of fact affairs than only verbal praises and exaggerated accounts.

3. They are rich in epic delineation and those realistic battlefield descriptions which are lacking in Urdu qasīdās of even Saḡdā and Zuhq.

A descriptive list of his qasīdās

1. The first qasīdā begins from the folio no. 32 b of the British Museum manuscript, and is entitled "the victory of Panāla". It was composed in 1661, and contains 157 couplets. It is divided into two separate matla's, and gives a detailed account of the battle of Panāla.
2. The second one has only 55 couplets, and deals with the downfall of Salābat Khān, the faithless commander of 'Alī 'Adīl Shāh's army. Its date of composition is possibly 1662.
3. "On the coming back of the victorious King from the campaign" was written in 1663, and contains only 28 couplets.
4. "In praise of the winter season" is one of the best qasīdās, and has only 24 couplets; written in 1663.
5. "The grand festival on the arrival of the King" is really a part (or the second independent matla') of the qasīdā number three, but, as it is separated from

the first part by the qasīdah number four, and has quite independent subject matter, it is here mentioned as a separate qasīdah. It has 65 couplets.

6. "The ten days' gatherings of Muharram" is a qasīdah composed on the theme of a marsīah, but it has the value of a qasīdah also. It very realistically depicts how the king as well as the subjects of Bījāpur, used to express their sorrow in the first ten days of Muharram. It has great historical and social value also.

It is divided into two different matla's; contains 148 couplets, and was probably composed in 1664.

7. The last permanent qasīdah in 'Alī Nāma is "the victory of Malnar". It is the most important as well as the lengthiest of Nūgratī's qasīdahs. It is also divided into two separate matla's, and is of 220 couplets.

It was composed in 1664. The battlefields, the peculiarities of the armies, the characters of the Bījāpur commanders and officials, and all other every affairs, are depicted in it in such a way as to show Nūgratī is one of the greatest Urdu qasīdah-writers.

- 8 & 9. The many headings of each masnawī are written in separate couplets, composed in two different zamīns which are quite different from that of the masnawīs

themselves. All these headings, if collected together would make two different permanent qasīdahs. One might be called the metrical background of 'Alī Nāma, and the other that of "Gulshan-e-'Ishq". They will somehow or other, form a continued subject matter, although they have no great value as qasīdahs.

IV Nusratī's Ghazals.

It is generally mentioned that Nusratī wrote another ^{dasta} magnawī, "Gulshan-e-'Ishq" also. But there is no authority to prove this statement. Nusratī himself, when giving detailed information about his magnawīs and qasīdahs, at the end of 'Alī Nāma where he says that he is master of not only epic poetry, but has composed a magnawī "Gulshan-e-'Ishq" dealing with love affairs and does not state anything about any other magnawī.

It is evident that he had not written it at that time, and he did not compose it afterwards, otherwise the Bijapur historians - already referred to - would certainly have found one more ground to praise Nusratī and they would not have forgotten to mention it. In

(1) See Fol. 215 a

"Basatīn" it is very clearly stated that he wrote only two
 (1)
 masnawīs.

"Gulāsta -e- 'Ishq" is for the first time referred to
 in the Stewart's catalogue of the Library of Tipū Sultān,
 where it is written that "it contains a variety of odes
 (2)
 amatory poems", and not a masnawī. It is really curious
 how Garcin de Tassy and others called it a masnawī.

It was no doubt a collection of Nūgratī's ghazals and
 qat'ahs which are mentioned by the Bijāpur historians also.
 But unfortunately very little can be said about it here,
 the present writer is in complete ignorance considering
 existence.

(1) See B.M., Ms. No. 25421, Fol. 104 b.

(2)

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SHAH MALIK (about 1666)

There is no information about this poet even in his masnawī Shari'at Nāmā, a fine manuscript, which is in the India Office library, and the present writer could not get any other information for the statement given in Urdu-e-Qadīm that he is a Bijāpur poet.

The author of Urdu-e-Qadīm has seen a manuscript of his work Ahkām-uṣ-Ṣalāt, and refers to him as a poet of the reign of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh II. The last lines of Ahkām-uṣ-Ṣalāt which he has quoted in his work, are exactly the same as the last ones of Malik's Shari'at Nāmā.

There is no doubt that Ahkām-uṣ-Ṣalāt is a part of Shāh Malik's complete work on Muslim doctrines, entitled Shari'at Nāmā. His religious masnawī was probably very popular at that time and that religious people used to read it as a whole as well as in part.

It was completed in 1666, and contains 254 couplets ~~(1077)~~ facts which are mentioned by the author himself at the end of the masnawī. The India Office manuscript contains a Dakhanī prose version also which is written under each poetic line, and was probably made in 1736, 70 years after ~~(1149)~~

the original compilation of the book, as is, unfortunately, related in the prose version itself.

The poem begins with a prologue containing "Munājāt", "Bayān-e-Sharī'at", "Na't", "praise of the companions and relatives of the prophet", and the "reason for compiling the book". The last one is of no importance at all; it does not give any information except that the poet - a devout Sunni - wishes to write a religious tract to enlighten his co-religionists.

The real work begins from folio 8 a, with the heading "Imān ke Arkān", and deals with all the everyday religious necessities of the Sunnis. Its style is surprisingly simple, and although it does not exhibit any literary brilliance, its fluency suggests that the writer was not lacking in power of composing poetry.

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SHĀH AMĪNUDDĪN A'LĀ (d.1676)

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He was the son of the famous Shāh Burhān and was born after the death of his father, perhaps in 1582. He was considered a born saint and many of his miracles and mystical qualities are highly commented by some old historians. He died in 1676, and was succeeded by several great Khalīfas (religious deputies), who were also Urdu poets.

Shah Amīn was a natural poet and had produced many works in Urdu.

1. Two of his qasīdās are extant, one in praise of his father Shāh Burhān and the other Muhibbnāma or Muhabbat Nāma, really a love poem in the form of a qasīda.

(1) The writer's information as regards Shāh Amīn, his father, Shāh Burhān, and grandfather Mirā Jī, is based only on the article published on them by the secret Anjuman-T.-Urdu, Aurangāhād, who has collected their works for the Anjuman's library. As there is at present, no other source of information about these authors, the present writer is unable to investigate their dates which evidently do not seem to be possible because it is stated that the grandfather died in 1496, and Shāh Amīn in 1676!

2. There are a few masnawīs among which one Rumūz-us-Sālikīn and the other Nazm-e-Vujūd, both on the Sūfī subject matter are more important.

3. Many dohras and ghazals are also extant. They contain more poetry than even those of his father.

4. Shah Amīn wrote several religious books in prose also. Guftār-e-Shah Amīn, and Ganj-e-Makhfi are the best of the

(1) lot. All these are preserved in the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu, and it is a pity that its secretary does not give a detailed information about their bulk and other peculiarities.

There is more fluency and beauty in Shah Amīn's style than that of his father and grandfather. His poetry is more natural and free than that of many of his contemporaries and professional poets.

(1) See Urdu magazine Vol. VIII, No. 29

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HASHIMĪ (d, 1697)

- - - - -

His name was Sayyid Mīrā, and as he was a disciple of Sayyid Shāh Hāshim ^{'Ala} 'Uvī, a well known saint of Bījāpur, adopted the nom-de-plume Hāshimī. He was a native of Bījāpur, and is stated to have been totally blind. He probably lived a long life, for, although a court poet of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh, he was alive in 1688, when he composed Yūsuf-Zalīkhā. He probably died in 1697 as is stated by the author of A'rāb-e-Buzurgā. ⁽¹⁾

Hāshimī must have been a prolific writer, for even we have some information about three of his bulky works:

1. Translation of Ahsan-ul-Qisas.

This work is mentioned in two old histories, P.G. Mahiuddīn in his "A.S. Bījāpur", after writing about Nugratī states that "One of the other Hindi (he means Urdu) poets was Hāshimī, who translated Ahsan-ul-Qisās ⁽²⁾ into Urdu, and displayed his mastery in it".

(1) See U.Q. Ed. I p. 81

(2) See A.S.B. (11 App.) Fol. 31 a.

The other place where this work is mentioned is in Basātīn, where the author mentions it with Hashimī's other work Yūsuf-Zalikhā, and calls it "the translation of ⁽¹⁾ Raḡṣat-ush-Shuhadā"; R. Shuhadā is in fact another name of the A. Qisas. No more is known about this work, it perhaps does not exist in any public library.

2. Yūsuf Zalikhā.

As has already been pointed out, this work was completed as late as 1688, and its manuscript is now preserved ⁽²⁾ in a German library. As the writer has not yet seen it, he cannot discuss it in detail.

3. Diwān of Ghazals.

This work is also commended along with Yūsuf Zalikhā in Basātīn. It was popular in those days. Hashimī's ghazals were not humorous like Muqimī's; they were pathetic in effect and weighty in style.

(1) See B.S. (1 App.) Fol 105 b.

(2) See Verzeichnis der Persischen und Hindustanischen der bibliothek der deutschen morgenlandischen Gesellschaft zu Halle, p.66

30 159
4. Marsias.

(1)
Hashimī is considered by some later writers as one of the foremost Bijāpur Marsia-writers, although the present writer cannot find it mentioned in any of the older histories. But he has, however, seen one of his marsia in the Edinburgh collection. It contains only 18 couplets and is not of superior quality. The mode of expression shows that the author was probably an experienced marsia-writer.

(1) Dastān-e-Urdū, Khayāl, Lisān-ul-Mulk. Oct. 1922, p.

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by the date of composition of one of his marsias (also preserved in the same collection). Thus it is evident that these marsias are not the production of the Bījāpur Mirzā who died in the reign of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh, i.e. before 1673. It is yet to be considered whether all the existing marsias of Mirzā are by the same poet, or whether they are selected from the marsias of more than one Mirzā. (1)

- (1) See further discussion on this subject in the following chapter, and also in the writer's article on Edinburgh Marsias in "Urdu".

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AYAGHI (about 1656-73)

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His name was Muhammad Amin, and he was one of the contemporaries of Nusrati, as is described in the Ahwād. He wrote Najat Namā, a maghawī on perhaps some religious subject as the name itself suggests.

Sprenger had seen its manuscript in the Top Khānā library of the King of Oudh. It had nearly 240 couplets. Nothing else is known about this author or his work.

(1) See A.S.B. (11 App.) Fol. 31 a

(2) See Sp. Cat. Vol. I p. 601

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MIRZĀ (d. before 1673)

- - - - -

He was the greatest mars̄ia-writer of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh's reign. He never composed any other kind of poetry. Once when the king himself compelled him to write in his praise, Mirzā composed a mars̄ia and dedicated it to the king. He adopted mars̄ia-writing originally as a profession, but in his later days, he made it his religious duty, and was devoted to it to such an extent that at last, as is stated while heading a mars̄ia. He was respected as a martyr.

No manuscript of his work is known. In the Edinburgh collection of mars̄ias, however, there are 15 mars̄ias of nearly 215 couplets, of a poet Mirzā, but it is not certain whether they belonged to this Mirzā of Bijapur. There was no doubt another mars̄ia-writer of this name in Golkundah, who was alive until after the downfall of the kingdom.

From one of the Edinburgh mars̄ias of Mirzā, we can know that it was composed by a Mirzā who was living after 1736, because in it the poet laments the death of another mars̄ia-writer Qādir, who was alive in 1736, as is proved

34 758 163
SIKANDAR 'ADIL SHAH (1673-86)
- - - - -

The life of this last king of Bijāpur was miserable from beginning to end. At first he was unable to control the administration, and afterwards when the Mughal army invaded his country, he gave way and was made prisoner by Aurangzib; his territory was annexed to the Mughal Empire. His troubled reign of 14 years did not produce any great literary man, or at least we have no historical records of his literary activities. There were no doubt a few minor poets like Sevā and Momin about whom we have a little information.

SEVĀ (about 1681)
- - - - -

A native of Gulbarga, he came to Bijapur in the reign of 'Alī 'Adil Shah. In 1681, he translated the Persian Rauzat-ush-Shuhadā into Urdu - a manuscript was extant in the library of Tipu Sultan of Mysore. He composed many (1) (2) masnawis also which were very popular in those days. Nothing else is known about him.

(1) See Stewart's cat. p. 181

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MOMIN (about 1682)

- - - - -

A native of Cīnā Patan, a small town in the 'Ādil Shāh kingdom, he probably did not come to Bījāpur. He belonged to the Mahdawī sect of Islām, and composed a bulky poem on the life and teachings of its founder Ḥaṣrat Sayyid Muḥammad Jaunpurī. It was completed in 1682, and is entitled Asrār-e-'Ishq. A manuscript is preserved in H.E.H. the Nizām's State Library. As the present writer has not had the opportunity of seeing it, he is unable to say anything in detail about it.

APPENDIX I

A detailed list of Bijāpur authors and their works.

1. Shah Mirā Jī, d. 1498

1. Khush Nāmā.
2. Khush Naghz.
3. Shahādāt-ul-Haqīqat.
4. Sharḥ-e-Marghūb-ul-Qulūb.

Mss. collected and preserved in the Anjuman-e-Taraqqī-Urdū, Aurangabad, Dn.

2. Shah Burhān, d. 1582

1. Vaṣīyat-ul Hādī
2. Manfe'at-ul-Īmān
3. Sukh Suhilā
4. Nuktaḥ-e-Wāḥid
5. Nasīm-ul-Kalām
6. Rumūz-ul-Nāsilīn
7. Basharat-uz-Zikr
8. Hujjat-ul-Baqā
9. Bayān-e-Khulāṣā
10. Irshād Nāmā
11. Ghazals and Dohrās

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 Mss. collected and preserved in the Anjuman-e-Taraqqī-e-Urdū,
 Aurangābad Dn.

3. Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II. d. 1626

Nauras

Ms. preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, MSS. No.
 190 + 240 (see list p. 175)

4. Hakim Atishi

Work not known.

5. Mirza Muqim

1. Cander Badan-e-Mah yar (between 1625 -39)

Ms. (a) India Office Library P.2781 - B. 100
 (b) Top Khana Library of the King of Gudh, Sp.
 Vol. I. 625

2. Story of Somhar.

Ms. probably not extant.

6. Amin

Bahram-o-Bami Husn (before 1639)

Ms. B. Museum, Add. 26528

7. Nuri

Marsias

Ms. not extant, a few couplets found in Persian
 tazkirahs.

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8. Rustumī

1. Khawar Nāmā 1649

Ms. India Office Library P.834-835.

2. Collection of ghazals and qasīdas.

Ms. probably not extant.

9. Malik Khushmīd

1. Hasht Behisht (between 1626-56)

Ms. B. Museum, Add. 10590

2. Yūsuf-o-Zalikha

Ms. probably not extant.

10. Daulat

Bahram-o-Bāmū Husn, 1639

Ms. B. Museum, Add. 26528

11. 'Alī 'Adil Shāh II (d. 1673)

collection of poems (before 1673)

Ms. probably not extant.

12. Musratī. (d. 1674)

1. Gulshan-e-'Ishq, 1656.

Ms. (a) B. Museum, or. 1059

(b) Ind. Office, P.2621-B-104

(c) Bodleian Lib., handlist No. 43

2. 'Alī Nāmā, 1666

Ms. (a) B. Museum, Add. 26527

(b) Ind. Office, P.1000-B.36

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3. Guldasta-e-'Ishq

Ms. probably not extant now, was found in the library of Tīpū Sultān, Stewart's cat. p.178

13. Malik (about 1666)

Sharf'at Nāmā, 1666

Ms. Ind. Office, P. 1236-B.3

14. Shāh Amīn (d. 1676)

1. Qasīdas:- (a) Praise of his father
(b) Mahmūd Nāmā.

2. Rumūz-us-Sālikīn

3. Nazm-e-Vujūd

4. Guftār-e-Shāh Amīn

5. Ganj-e-Makhfī

6. Ghazals and Dohrās

Ms. collected and preserved in the Anjuman-e-Tarraqī-e-Urdū, Aurangābād, Dn.

15. Hāshimī. (d. 1697)

1. Yūsuf Zalīkhā

Ms. Bibliothek der deutschen morgenlandischen, zu Hall, No. 71

2. Ahsan-ul-Qisas

Ms. probably not extant

3. Diwān of Ghazals

Ms. probably not extant.

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Hashimī (continued)

4. Marsias

Ms. Edinburgh collection.

16. Mirza (d. before 1673)

Marsias

Ms. Edinburgh collection

17. Ayāghī

Najāt Nama

Ms. probably not extant, was found in the Libr
of King of Qudh.

18. Seva

Ra^uzat-ush-Shuhadā, 1681

Ms. probably not extant.

19. Momin

Asrar-e-'Ishq

Ms. H.E.H. The Nizam's State Library

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APPENDIX II

WORKS ON BĪJĀPUR

1. Nauras Nāmā or Gulzār-e-Ibrāhīmī.

See appendix, chapter I. This work is commonly called Tārīkh-e-Fārishtā, and was compiled by the order of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II.

2. Tazkiratul Mulūk.

See appendix, chapter I. This was also compiled by the order of the same monarch.

3. Futūḥāt-e-'Adil Shāhī.

A history of 'Adil Shāhs, from their origin to A.D. 1643. By Fuzūnī Astrākīādī. Commenced by the order of Muḥammad 'Adil Shāh, in 1640 and was completed in 1643 (B.M. Ms. Add. 27251)

4. Mahmud Nāma

A history of the later part of the reign of Muhammad 'A'dil Shāh, written by the order of the same monarch. By Mullā Zuhūr, son of the famous Mullā Zuhūrī Qā'inī. (See Recd Cat. Persian Mss. Vol. 1. p.319)

5. Ahvāl-e-Bādshāhān -e-Bījāpūr

A collection of news and dates of Bījāpūr kings. By Mīr Ibrāhīm B. Mīr Hus^{ain} Aur Asadkhānī. In the reign of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh II. B.M. Ms. Add.26,296 p.320 a.

6. Tārīkh-e-'Alī 'Adil Shāh II

A history of 'Alī from his birth to the invasion of his kingdom by Rājā Jai Singh and Sīvā Jī and their final repulse. By Sayyid Nūrulla B. Qāzī Syid 'Alī Muhammad Husainī-al-Sādsī. Written A.D. 1686, Ms. B.M. Add. 27 252. Ind. Office Ms. Persian 3006

7. Tārīkh-e-Hajj Kuraī

A short history of the 'Adil Shāhīs from the origin to the downfall. The author is not mentioned anywhere in the work, although he is called apparent

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on no authority, on the fly leaf, Futur Khā. Ind. Off
Ms. Persian 3051

8. Vaqe'at-e-Salatīn-e-Bijapur

A condensed form of Mahmūd Nāmā, to which the author has added more events down to the time of Sultān Sikandar. By Shaikh Abu'l Hasan B. Qāzī 'Abdul 'Azīz B. Qāzī Taj Muhammad, compiled at the end of 1699. B.M. Ms. Add. 26269, P.320 a

9. Qazāya-e-Salatīn-e-Dakhan

See Appendix, chapter first.

10. Tauṃīq-e-Shigarf

See appendix, chapter I.

11. Ahval-e-Salatīn-e-Bijapur

An abridged history of the "Ādil Shāhīs from their origin to the conquest of Bijapur by Aurangzīb, A.D. 1097. By Pīrzādā Ghulām Mohiuddīn. Compiled in A.H. 1221. Ms. B.M. Add. 26,270

12. Basātin-us-Salātin

A history of the 'Ādil Shāhs from their origin to downfall. By Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Zubairī. Compiled in A.D. 1824. B.M., Ms. Add. 26269, Ind. Office Persian Ms. 3406.

13. Urdu-e-Qadīm

See appendix Chapter I.

CHAPTER IV.

UREU IN GOLCONDA :
(1508-1687)

C O N T E N T S.

a. EARLY DEVELOPMENTS - UNDER THE FIRST FOUR KINGS.

(1503-1580)

1. Sultān qulī qutub shāh - 1503-43.
2. Jamshīd qulī qutub shāh, and
Subhān qulī - 1543-1550.
3. Ibrāhīm qulī qutub shāh - 1550-80.
a. Muḥmūd b. Fīroz.

b. THE GOLDEN AGE OF URGU - UNDER THE LAST FOUR KINGS.

(1580-1687)

1. Muḥammad qulī qutub shāh - 1580-1611
a. Vajhī b. Aḥmad c. Khudā Mumā.
2. Muḥammad qutub shāh - 1611-24.
a. Shauqī b. Khayālī.
3. 'Abdullāh qutub shāh - 1624-72.
a. Ghawwāgī, b. Qutbī, c. Junaidī, d. Ibn-e-Nasā
e. Mīrā Yāqūb, f. 'Tab'ī, g. Amīn.
4. Abul Ḥasan Tānā shāh - 1672-87.
a. Fāiz, b. Laṭīf, c. Mūrī, d. Shāhī, e. Mīrā
f. Ghulām 'Alī.

c.

APPENDIX I.

A detailed list of Golkundā authors and their works.

d.

APPENDIX II

A detailed list of Books written on Golkundā
consulted by the writer.

CHAPTER IV.

URDU IN GOLKUNDA

(1508 - 1687)

(a) EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

UNDER THE FIRST FOUR KINGS (1508-80).

The Golkunda kingdom was founded eighteen years after the establishment of that of Bījāpūr, and it was comparatively far from Gulbarga and Daulatābād, the two literary centres of those days. But it is surprising that in both the kingdoms the golden age of Urdu began nearly at the same time, and thus from 1580 onwards the political, social and literary activities of both the kingdoms ran parallel to each other until both were destroyed, also almost at the same time.

It is also worth mentioning that with the Bījāpūr kingdom its learning and literature was also extinguished for ever, whereas, after the downfall of the Golkunda kingdom its literary production was not totally stopped. This was due to the fact that when the Ābdil Shāhī dynasty came to an end, all the poets and literary men left their capital for Golkunda, for

was their only refuge in the Dakhan, and thus the literary atmosphere of Bījāpūr was greatly disturbed. On the contrary the Golkunda littérateurs could not leave their city after the quṭub Shāhī downfall, because they had no other place where they could enjoy any kind of patronage. They could not venture to take refuge in Delhi which was very far from their native country. Besides this, they had no hope of being encouraged in a city where Persian was still the medium of writing, and where there was very little chance at that time of Urdu poetry being considered even worth hearing.

Another fact that played a great part, though indirectly in retaining the literary atmosphere of the quṭub Shāhī capital, Hyderābād, was its becoming the central city of the Dakhan province. Although it lost the kingdom, it was the capital of a government which, no doubt, was not sympathetic from the Dakhan point of view, but somehow or other was the cause of preserving some of its old splendour.

Quite contrary to this, when Aurangzīb conquered Bījāpūr he left it a desolate and lifeless city. It was not made the centre of even a district, and the whole kingdom was annexed to the big province of the Dakhan which was governed first from Aurangābād and later from Hyderābād, which ultimately became the capital of the whole Dakhan when Nizām-ul-Mulk

3

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proclaimed his independence, and the Dakhan province was again turned into a kingdom. Thus Bījāpūr was gradually losing its eminence, and now it is not more than a small village, though the British Government has very recently begun to preserve some of the old palaces and magnificent buildings. It has also very lately been made the centre of a "Ta'alluqah".

There ^{are} a few more facts worth mentioning in comparing the Urdu productions of Bījāpūr and Golkunda. Although the latter began to produce Urdu writers at the same time as the former, its compositions are superior both in quality and in quantity:-

- (1) At present we know about 19 writers of Bījāpūr, and 24 of Golkunda.
- (2) As regards quality, it will be noticed that Golkunda produced more original work.
- (3) No doubt more epic poetry was composed in Bījāpūr and in this respect Golkunda is the inferior, but but its love-stories are far superior to those of Bījāpūr
- (4) Prose was written in both the kingdoms, but the Golkunda prose is the better of the two as regard both style and subject matter.

- (5) Although two or three Bījāpūr kings also wrote in Urdu, their work, unfortunately is not at present known; whereas four of the Golkunda kings were certainly good Urdu poets, and many specimens of their poetry are extant.

Before finishing these remarks it seems advisable to point out that they are all based on existing material. It is possible that Bījāpūr productions may have been better than those of Golkunda, and that owing to the unfavourable circumstances which Bījāpūr had to face, many of its productions have been destroyed.

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(1) SULTĀN QULĪ QUTUB SHĀH (1508 - 1543)

Sultān qulī shāh was one of those five Bahmanī govern who founded their own separate kingdoms after the downfall of their masters. As in the case of the founder of the 'Ādil shāhī; there are different statements about his early life. However, he was not so powerful as to declare his independence as early as 1480, although he ultimately did so in 1510, the year in which Yūsuf died.

Sultān qulī's task was more difficult than that of his rival Yūsuf. He spent all his time on battlefields to strengthen his new kingdom and maintain his position. There are no historical records representing his literary activities and there is little likelihood that Urdu flourished in his day at Golkunda. His capital was far from centres which patronised Urdu, and therefore it was probably deprived of that literary splendour which soon began in Bījāpūr.

There is no doubt he established a place called "Āsh Khānā" or "langar", where he gathered many poets and literary men, but it is not certain whether or not they wrote Urdu poetry. He was himself a man of great abilities, and reigned for nearly 35 years, at the end of which he was assassinated by a slave, probably at the instigation of his own son, Jahānshāh, who was tired of his long reign.

(2) JAMSHID and SUBHĀN (1543 - 1550)

After murdering his father, Jamahīd blinded his elder brother, the heir-apparent, Malik Qutabuddīn, and became king. He ruled for seven years, spending all his time on the battlefield. As he was unpopular, historians have recorded very little about the literary atmosphere of his reign although they say he was a poet himself. There are a few extracts from his Persian qasīdas and Ghazals in some of the old Golkunda manuscripts. (1)

After his death his son, Subhān, still a child, was made king. But when Jamahīd's other brother, Ibrāhīm, who had fled to Bījānagar after learning the sad fate of his father and elder brother, and spent seven years in that Hindū city, returned to Golkundā with a Bījānagar army, the child abdicated in favour of his uncle.

(1) See B.H., MS. Add. 6542^a, fol. 88.

(3) IBRĀHĪM QULI QUTUB SHĀH (1550 - 1580)

It was during the thirty years reign of this monarch that the kingdom of Golkundā acquired weight and respect in political as well as in literary fields. He was energetic and wise, but also severe and arbitrary. He gathered many notable personalities to his court and duly encouraged them.

On account of his long residence in a Hindu country, he had cordial relations with that people. He ascended the throne with their help, and had many Hindu dignitaries among his officials. It was perhaps this fact that helped on a great deal the progress of Urdu during his reign.

There are several valuable and trustworthy statements about Ibrāhīm's literary activities in many Dakhan histories and especially in a contemporary history of Bījāpūr, called Tazkirat-ul-Mulūk, a fine manuscript of which is preserved in the British Museum. (1) As its author Rafī'-ud-Dīn Ibrāhīm Shīrāzī, was a court historian of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh, and had twice been to Golkundā, first as a Persian trader and then as an Ambassador from the 'Adil Shāhī court, there can be little doubt as to the reality of his accounts of Golkundā. They are free from exaggeration as they are not based on any kin

(1) B.M., MS. 23883, fol. 83^a - 84^b. B.M. MS. 6542 (Add) fol. 138.

of flattery. Moreover the author is very frank in recording the misdeeds of kings other than the 'Ālīl Shāhīs.

A summary of Ibrāhīm's works as regards literature and learning:

1. He established free schools and made provision for the encouragement of public education, by awarding scholarships and rewards.
2. He favoured men of learning and poets to such an extent that whenever he received even fruits from his private gardens, he used to send a portion to them.
3. He increased the allowance granted by his predecessors for the Langar, where many poets and scholars and their families were living at that time.
4. He divided his outer palace into seven parts, the third one of which was allotted to painters, engravers, artists and bookbinders, who were always busy on the king's library. The fourth part was devoted to courtiers, poets and calligraphers, who used to spend their time in reading and writing histories, the Shāh Nāmāh, stories and romances. The sixth one was reserved for scholars, poets and notable men who used to indulge in literary discussions, and reciting and composing poetry.

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Among the Urdu poets of his reign only the names of Mahmūd and Fīroz are known; although there is sufficient reason to believe that his reign did really produce many Urdu poets, as we learn from the prologue of quṭub Maṣṣaḥ.

FĪROZ and MAHMŪD (About 1580)

At present our knowledge of these two poets comes on from the statements of two other Golkunda poets, Vajhī and Ibn-e-Nashaṭī. Vajhī who was himself born in the reign of King Ibrāhīm, mentions them as his predecessors, and as the reigns of Sultān quṭb and Jamshīd were probably barren in this respect, one is obliged to mention these two poets as the contemporaries of Ibrāhīm only.

Vajhī speaks of both of them as the only great poets of their age, and says that their poetry would be remembered. He further says that if they had been living in his time Urdu poetry might have flourished to a still greater extent.

Ibn-e-Nashaṭī's statement shows that Mahmūd's full name was Sayyid Mahmūd, and that he had a good taste in poetry, and was a just man to judge the qualities of his works. He speaks of Fīroz as a master, and says that if he had been

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alive then he might have duly praised his poetry.

Of the two, Fīroz would seem to be the greater, for only has Ibn-e-Nashajī referred to him as a master, but Vajhī has done the same, at another place in the prologue of Qutub Mushtarī, where he mentions him as an authority on Urdu poetry. He says he was not wrongly praising his own work, for Fīroz visited him in a dream and confirmed the fact that his poetry was very impressive and true. Such a remark from a proud poet like Vajhī proves that Fīroz was in fact a great poet. It is a pity that nothing more is yet known about these poets and their productions.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF URDU - UNDER THE LAST FOUR KINGS (1580-1611)

(1) MUHAMMAD QULĪ QUTUB SHĀH (1580-1611)

This was the greatest of the Golkundā kings, and his magnificent reign lasted for 31 years. He concluded peace with his neighbours and consequently found time for social and administrative reforms, and for literary development as well. Golkundā was over-populated in his time to such an extent that he had to found another city near by, which first developed as a beautiful abode of the king, his court and other nobles, and ultimately became the capital of the whole kingdom. There are many interesting and valuable accounts of the palaces, gardens and roads of this city, (i.e. Hyderabad) in contemporary histories and diaries of foreign travellers.

Muhammad qulī was a generous, kind-hearted and peace-loving monarch, rather a poet and literary man than a conquering king. He not only patronised poets and scholars but was a good poet himself. His nom-de-plume was Ma'ānī in Dakhnī and Qutub Shāh in Persian.

There is a fine manuscript of his collected works in H.E.H. the Nizām's private library. It was compiled by qulī

successor and nephew, Sultān Muḥammad, who has himself written a "Khutbah" or introduction in Dakhanī, and which was copied for the royal library of Golkundā by order of the King on first-class large-sized paper, and contains 1800 pages. It is written in fair Naskhī handwriting, and is very nearly correct.

The Dakhanī introduction ~~is~~ by his nephew, King Muḥammad shows the order of the compilation of his poems, and states that he composed in Persian and Telegū as well. It proves how he was sincerely admired by his peoples, and was a man of noble and religious tendencies. According to the introduction King Qulī wrote 50,000 couplets, and his collected works may be divided into six parts, viz.-

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|----------------|--|
| 1. Maḡnawīs | 4. Marḡīās (a) Persian
(b) Dakhanī |
| 2. Qaṣīdās | 5. <u>Ghazals</u> (a) Persian
(b) Dakhanī |
| 3. Tarjī'bands | 6. Rubā'īs. |

Qulī's poetry is extraordinarily simple in style. Its developed language very strongly suggests that it was not a first attempt at poetry in Dakhanī. His mastery of language very expressively reproduces such ideas as were expressed in Persian only after its full linguistic development.

His Ghazals resemble those of Ḥāfiz in simplicity and sweetness. They abound in ideas of pure love and Sūfism. He is superior even to Sa'udā and Nazir in depicting human

Muhammad and 'Abdullāh, and writing a prose metaphorical romance in his very old age. His Maḡnawī qutub muḡhtarī, Manuscript, preserved in the India Office Library, is probably the only existing manuscript of the work, and is not yet known to the public as Vajhī's work. In the India Office Catalogue, too, the names of the author and the Maḡnawī itself are not given. It was rather difficult to discover them without going through the whole Maḡnawī, consequently it was mentioned as an anonymous work. But as the present writer has studied the whole Maḡnawī, he came to the conclusion that it was composed by a poet named Vajhī and that its title was qutub muḡhtarī, as will be proved later on when writing on the maḡnawī itself.

The fact that he composed his Maḡnawī qutub muḡhtarī in 1608 and his prose tale Sahras in 1635, nearly 27 years later, makes one doubt whether the author of Sahras was the same man as the author of qutub muḡhtarī; but the following argument will prove that he was one and the same person.

1. Vajhī, the author of Sahras was a contemporary of Ghawwāḡī, for it was written in 1635, while Ghawwāḡī composed his first Maḡnawī, Saif-ul-Mulūk, in 1625, and the second Rūḡī Nāmā in 1649.

2. Vajhī of Quṭub Muṣhtarī was also a contemporary of Ghawwāṣī, as there are many couplets in the prologue of that poem which were written sarcastically, and satirize a poet whose nom-de-plume was Ghawwāṣī.

3. In 1631 a Golkundā courtier was living whose name was Vajhī, who used to write congratulatory poems with Ghawwāṣī, and who is mentioned in a history of Nizām-ul-Dīn Ahmad (see Appendix to this chapter), as a poet of the Dakhini language. The date proves that he was undoubtedly the Vajhī of Sabras, and that the Vajhī of Sabras was a poet also.

4. Ṭab'ī, a Golkundā poet who composed his Maṣnawī Bahrām-u-Gul Andām, in 1670, i.e. 35 years after the composition of Sabras, praises a poet Vajhī in his prologue, who congratulates him on his production. Ṭab'ī mentions Vajhī just in the same way as the latter had mentioned his predecessors Fīroz and Maḥmūd in Quṭub Muṣhtarī.

Thus if the author of Sabras, who was nearer to Ṭab'ī as regards time, had not been the author of Quṭub Muṣhtarī, Ṭab'ī would surely have referred to him in such a manner as to distinguish between the two.

6. Moreover, it is not probable that two poets who belonged to the same court and lived almost at the same time would have adopted the same nom-de-plume.

By following these arguments one comes to the conclusion that:

1. The author of *Sahras* and *qutub Mushtari* was only one whose nom-de-plume was *Vajhi*.
2. *Vajhi* was brought up in the reign of *Ibrahīm*, and it is most probable that he began writing poetry in the same reign because *qutub Mushtari* very clearly shows that its author was an accomplished and famous poet. If it is supposed that at the death of *Ibrahīm*, and at the coronation of *Muhammad qulī* - i.e. in 1580, he was fifteen years of age, it follows that he was nearly forty-three when he composed *qutub Mushtari* - i.e. in 1608, and seventy when he composed *Sahras*, i.e. in 1635.
3. *Ghawwāsi*, too had begun to acquire fame in the time of *Muhammad qulī*, and therefore his date of birth would have been very close to that of *Vajhi*. Probably he was the younger for if he was more than seventy in 1635 he could not have visited the 'Adil Shāhī court as a Golkundā ambassador, which he certainly did, as will be mentioned in detail in his life.
4. *Vajhi* had acquired such importance and popularity that nearly 35 years after his death a poet, *Tab'ī*, earnestly tried to follow in his footsteps and represents *Vajhi* as visiting him in a dream and praising his work, as an argument in favour of his own poetry.

VAJHI'S LIFE.

He was born in the reign of Ibrāhīm qulī qutub Shāh, and began to write poetry at an early age. He was brought up in an environment in which Urdu literature was just beginning to gain ground, it had produced a few good poets, and at the time when he composed qutub Mushtarī Urdu was the common language of the street as well as of the court. Many poets had arisen, and among a few of them bitter rivalry prevailed.

Unlike most of the Urdu poets, Vajhī had no poetical instructor. His sarcastic attacks on his contemporaries throw a light on this fact and show that he was not inclined to believe in any authority or teacher. Although he has praised Fīroz and Mahmūd he does not refer to them as teachers. They are the only poets who were worth considering from his point of view; all others whom he knew, or who were his contemporaries, had no significance in his eyes.

He has praised King Ibrāhīm in his Maṣnawī in such a way as to suggest that he was alive at that time, but this is perhaps owing to his use of the historical present. There is little doubt that Vajhī began to gain eminence only in the reign of Muḥammad qulī, and as that king himself was an Urdu poet, he would have been received in the court also. The subject of qutub Mushtarī itself shows that his relations with the king were close and that they had been friendly for a long time.

When he wrote Qutub Mushtarī his fame was at its zenith. Although there were many poets at the court and they had already composed many poems (as his prologue shows), none was his equal. If there had been a single poet whom the king was favouring at that time, Vajhī could not have satirized all his contemporaries so bitterly.

In spite of his general mockery, he was not unmindful of the increasing eminence of Ghawwāṣī's poetry. He very soon found that it was not always an easy matter to prevail over this poet. He tried his best to make Ghawwāṣī the central point of his satirical attacks, but he did not dare to declare openly the name of his main rival. He was not bold enough to use the word "Ghawwāṣī", although he wrote many words of the same derivation, metaphorically.

It seems probable that Vajhī's overshadowing eminence did not survive after the death of the king Muḥammad Qulī. The literary activities of the thirteen years of that monarch's reign are still unknown to us, but the records of King Abdullāh's time prove that Ghawwāṣī's popularity had eclipsed the fame of Vajhī by then. The latter was still a court poet. He used to write congratulatory poems and chronograms on all important events, and the king used to favour him, yet the chief poet of the court was Ghawwāṣī. The contemporary historian, Nizamuddin Ahmad, who has made mention of both

in the same place, very clearly points out, in writing about Ghawwāgī, that "he is the most distinguished poet of these days." Moreover, in 1635, when the king had to send a court poet as an ambassador, in response to the 'Ādil shāhī poet-ambassador, Halik Khashnūd, he honoured Ghawwāgī with the post and not Vajhī. It is probable that Vajhī's great age also had something to do with decreasing his eminence.

VAJHĪ'S WORKS His productions are worth considering in many respects. Their subject matter is entirely original; they were not borrowed from any previous Persian or Hindi works. Vajhī himself was proud of not owing anything to any other poet. To translate from other languages, or to reproduce the ideas of others, were, in his opinion, crimes equal to those of theft or robbery.

It is fortunate that some of his poetry and prose is still extant, to prove his great literary ability. About his prose work, Sabras, something has been written before.

SABRAS As the present writer has not seen the manuscript of this book himself (there is no copy in any European library), he can only quote Maulvi 'Abdul Haq, who has seen it and written an article on it in the magazine "Urdu".⁽¹⁾ He says that "the book contains one long contin-

(1) See Vol. IV, Part XVI, and also Vol. V., part XVIII.

story, that it has literary merits, and that it is written in rhyming prose, in which the influence of Zaburī is is clearly discernible. The treatment is quite simple and the narrative clear and flowing. The plot is very thin and is used only as a peg on which to hang dissertations on love, reason, bravery, avarice, The Elixir of Life and the like."⁽¹⁾

VAJHI'S POETRY.

Nothing has hitherto been known about his poetry. The India Office manuscript of his Masnawī Qutub Mushtari, presents good material for writing about his compositions. In it there are a few Ghazals and Rubā'īs which show that their producer was really a great poet.

Every Ghazal has for theme a subject of its own. They all represent pure every-day life sentiments and passions. They are free from conventional ideas and mannerisms. The style is like that of his poetry in general, very simple and yet fascinating and forceful.

They are composed in Persian metres, still they show the early Urdu poets tried to follow the lines of Hindi poetry, and that if their successors had carried out the tradition, Urdu poetry to-day might have been quite a different thing.

(1) Translation quoted from the History of Urdu Literature

His Rubā'īs have the same characteristic as the ^Qazals. They urge morality and pure love as well.

HIS MAṢNAWĪ QUTUB MUṢHTARĪ. In the India Office Library Catalogue this poem is mentioned as an anonymous work by an unknown author. But the writer has discovered that its name is QUTUB - MUṢHTARĪ, as the author has mentioned in a couplet on folio 121ⁿ of the manuscript, and that the name of the author was VAJHĪ, as it occurs twice in the Maṣnawī, on folio 69ⁿ, where the author relates that Fīroz visited him in a dream and praised his work, addressing him twice by his non-de-plume.

In the epilogue the poet writes that he finished this work in twelve days in the year 1608 A.D. The Maṣnawī contains nearly 2000 couplets, and as it depicts an original story it is really a credit to have produced such an excellent work in such a limited time.

The prologue of this work is no less valuable than the main poem itself. After the usual ascription of praise to God, the Prophet, and 'Alī, which clearly prove that the author was an orthodox Shī'a, begins the interesting and rather long part of the poem, which throws much light upon

(1) by R.B. Saksena, (p. 38).

the character and atmosphere of the poet. This has already been pointed out in his life.

The poet starts the real story with the praise of King Ibrāhīm, the father of his hero, Muḥammad qulī, and then proceeds to relate how he was anxious for a son, and how exceedingly delighted he was when he got one. The grand festivities at the birth of an heir-apparent, his childhood, and later on his education, are depicted very minutely, and help the reader to get an insight into the court life of Golkundā. The plot of the whole story is a simple one, and it runs thus:-

"Qutub Shāh, the son of Ibrāhīm qutub Shāh, king of the Dakhan, fell violently in love with a lady whom he had seen in a dream. A famous artist and traveller in India, 'Uṭārī happened to have a portrait of the lady, which he had taken in the course of his travels. The prince, taking him with him, set out in quest of the lady. After various adventures with demons on the way, they arrived at the country of the fairies where the prince remained, smitten with the charms of Mahtari, the custodian of the garden of the fairies. Leaving him there, 'Uṭārī proceeded to Bengal, and took up his abode near the palace of the princess Mushtarī Shāh. She, hearing of his fame as an artist, commissioned him to paint a picture of

palace and grounds. He contrived to introduce into it a portrait of the prince, and the princess forthwith fell in love with him. 'Utārid then dispatched a letter to Qutub Shāh, informing him of the success of his effort on his behalf, whereupon the prince went to Bengal, and thence returned to his own country in company with Mahtarī Shāh. King Ibrāhīm consented to their marriage, and made over the kingdom to his son." (1)

Although the plot as a whole is not very important or interesting, the minor details and the delineation of events are very realistic and vivid. The freshness of style makes one read the whole poem at a sitting, without stopping.

Vajhī's poetic diction is always charming and vigorous. He never depicts a thing in the same manner twice. He has always some new kind of expression reserved in his vocabulary.

He was influenced by Hindi literature and mythology to such an extent that even his mode of thinking had become that of a real Hindu. His similes and metaphorical references are generally derived from Indian sources. The wrong use of Arabic and Persian words is sometimes so remarkable that one begins to doubt whether the author was a Muhammadan.

The chief characteristic of "Qutub-Mahtarī" is that it is true poetry and not simply a versified story.

(1) quoted from The India Office Catalogue.

society and the beauties of nature. His themes are chiefly Indian. He has written on the fruits, vegetables, birds, customs and manners of his own country, and very successfully describes the marriage ceremonies and festivals of both Hindus and Muhammadans. He was much influenced by Hindi poetry. As the present writer has not had the opportunity of seeing this splendid manuscript himself, he is obliged to content himself with presenting only second-hand information, and consequently is unable to write about Qulī's works in detail.

There is no doubt he had many Dakhani poets in his court but unfortunately nearly all of them are still unknown, and Vajhī and Ahmad are the only two whose works are extant and about whose lives something can be written after their perusal.

(1) VAJHĪ (about 1608-1635)

Mullā Vajhī is the only one among the great Golkundā poets whose prose is also extant. His works throw sufficient light on the literary atmosphere of that time. His personality owes its importance to the fact of his having been a court poet during three long reigns, those of Muhammad Qulī

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- (1) (a) Tazkirat ul Mulūk, Fol. 85^b.
 (b) Tarikh Muhammad Qutub Shāhī, Fol. 174^a.

(2) AHMAD (about 1600. A.D.)

This is the second known poet of Sultan Muhammad qulī's reign. He is first mentioned by Ibn-e-Nashātī in his *Phul Ban*, and is included in the category of the best Golkunda poets. Nothing is known in detail about his life and writings. It is, however, certain that he was a court poet, and that he composed "*Lailā Majnū*" at the request of Muhammad qulī.

An incomplete manuscript of Ahmad's "*Lailā Majnū*" is preserved by Professor Mahmūd Shīrānī, the author of "*Panjāb mā Urdu*." The existing portion contains only 540 couplets, and is written in bad *Naskhī* handwriting. The prologue does not give any valuable information, except that the work was begun by the request of the king. The language more or less resembles Vajhī's, and abounds in Hindi words and phrases.

(3) MĪRĀ JĪ KHUDĀ NUMĀ (d. 1659)

Shāh Mīrā Jī Ḥasan, popularly known as Mīrā ṣāhīK and also as *Khudā Numā*, was at first a servant in the "*Ālam-e-Rozgār*" department of 'Abdulla Qutub Shāh's court. Once, when he was sent on duty to Bījāpūr he met Shāh Amīnuddīn A' (who was also an Urdu writer), and became his disciple. After

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returning to Hyderabad he led the life of a ḡufī, and when he died in 1659 A.H., he was looked upon as a great saint.

Mīrā Jī wrote many religious treatises in Urdu prose. One of them, "Sharḥ-e-Sharḥ-e-Tamhīd" was written in 1600 A and two manuscripts of it are still extant. It is a commentary on an old Persian ḡufī work called Tamhīdāt-e-'Ain-ul-quzzāt, by Abdulla bin Muḥammad Hamadānī (d. 1171), who was commonly known as 'Ain-ul-ḡhazālī. He was a student of Sha Ahmad ḡhazālī (the brother of the famous Imām ḡhazālī), and left many Arabic and Persian works.

Mīrā Jī 's commentary is more or less a literal translation of the original Persian book, and is divided into ten chapters. Its manuscripts are preserved in the Anjumani Taraqqī-e-Urdū . One was written as early as 1603, and the other in 1656. The first one is evidently very valuable, being one of the very few early-dated Urdu manuscripts.

The quotations given in the "Urdu" magazine (vol. 8, pt. 30) show that Mīrā Jī's style was very simple and straightforward. It is more natural and flowing than that of Saifur which was composed thirty-five years later.

(2)

MUHAMMAD QUTUB SHAH. (1611-1624).

Muhammad, the nephew, the son-in-law, and the successor of Muhammad qulī, reigned for thirteen years. He was a true follower and an ardent admirer of his uncle. He increased the grandeur of his capital by erecting many new and splendid buildings.

He enjoyed the peace and the literary atmosphere created by his uncle, and patronised all those poets and literary men who had been attached to the Hyderabad court since the time of his uncle. He was himself a good poet, and left two *Diwāns* - one in *Dakhani*, and the other in *Persian*, both preserved in the library of Nawāb SalārJang at Hyderabad. His non-de-pl was *Qutub Shah* in *Dakhani* and *Zillullāh* in *Persian*.

The author of *Mahbub-uz-Zaman* had seen King Muhammad's *Dakhani Diwān*, and has given a few extracts - about 150 couplets - from it in his work. They show that they are no less simple and graceful than Muhammad qulī's.

Like his uncle, King Muhammad also composed poetry in its several forms, i.e. *Rubā'ī*, *Gazals*, *Tarkīb Bānds* and *Marsiās*, but in any case he was not equal to his uncle in the writing of poetry, although there is little doubt that he excelled him in sound scholarly knowledge.

His notes, written by his own hand, on the fly-leaves of his library books abound in useful information and criticism.

about books and their authors.⁽¹⁾ A contemporary historian suggests that if anyone were to collect all those remarks in one place they would surely make a valuable biography of literature.

DAKHANI LITERATURE IN HIS REIGN.

It is curious to note that although King Muhammad was himself a poet and an admirer of literature, and though his reign immediately followed that of Muhammad Quli, no Dakhani poem of his time is extant at the present day. There can be no doubt that the famous Vajhi and his rivals, especially Ghawwagi, were among his court poets, and that Qutbi, Junaid and Ibn-e-Nashati, poets whose works, written just after Muhammad's death, are still extant, lived in his time and must have produced something then also, but very little is known about his literary activities.

It is a pity that his court historians (see index) who often refer to his poetical gatherings, to the congratulatory poems written on different occasions, and to his bountiful rewards,⁽²⁾ neither mention the names of his poets nor quote their poetry.

(1) Hadifat-us-Salatīn B. M., MS. Vol. 207^a; Ind. Off. 23^a.

(2) Hadifat-us-Salatīn B.M., 182^b, 187^b, 188^a.

Besides Vajhī, Ghawwāqī, Qutbī, Junaidī and Ibn-e-Nashātī who were certainly his court poets, and who will be mentioned in the account of the reign of King Abdullāh, the present writer has discovered three more poets who belong to this reign, and whose names are Ahmad, Shauqī and Khialī.

They are mentioned in Ibn-e-Nashātī's Phul Ban with other dead poets, i.e. Mahmūd and Fīroz. Speaking about his composition, Ibn-e-Nashātī expresses his sorrow at not being able to show his work to the great poets who were dead and about whose qualifications he has unfortunately not written anything except that: (1) Ahmad's full name was Shaikh Ahmad, and that if he were alive he would have duly judged the spirit of his work; (2) Shauqī's name was Hasan, and that he would have greatly admired Ibn-e-Nashātī's work; (3) Mullā Khialī if alive would have noticed the mastery shown in Phul Ban.

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(3)

'ABDULLĀH QUTUB SHĀH (1624-1672)

This monarch was the seventh king of the Qutub Shāhī dynasty, and reigned for nearly fifty years, this being the longest reign in the history of the Qutub Shāhs. Although he suffered many political disturbances at the hands of the Mughals, his passion for literature and for increasing the splendour of his capital never ceased.

In his long reign the golden age of Urdu in Golkondā reached its zenith. Many excellent works were produced during this time and Dakhanī became a standard language.

'Abdullāh was a scholar and also composed poetry. Like his father, he, too, left Dīwāns in both Persian and Dakhanī but they are probably no longer extant. The author of Maḥbūz-Zaman has quoted couplets from his Dakhanī works. Their style is more fluent ^{than} ~~than~~ those of his father. His pen-name was 'Abdullāh.

King 'Abdullāh's reign has not been left in obscurity like those of his ancestors. His court historian, Nizāmuddīn Ahmad, has recorded detailed events of every year from his coronation down to the year 1640, A.D., in his biography Ḥadīz-Salātīn (see index). It gives much information about the social life of his days, and shows how and where the Dakhanī and Persian poets used to gather, sometimes even for the whole

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night, to read their poems and congratulate the king on the occasion of festivals and other favourable events.⁽¹⁾ It gives the names of many new court poets, such as Raunaqī, Qaṣṣar, Khulqī, 'Abdul-Jabbar Gīlānī,⁽²⁾ and others. It further depicts the keen activities of the king and his courtiers at the time of Muḥarram, which throw an important light on the progress of Margia-writing in his time.⁽³⁾

'Abdullāh's life is important also for the reason that from it we can get authentic material about a few poets of his reign, who will be mentioned here.

(1) GHAṬṬĀṢĪ (about 1608-2649).

A perusal of his work and of the contemporary histories and literary productions enables one to obtain some light on this great poet who, like all other Dakhani poets, is still unknown to many people.

He was born in King Ibrāhīm's reign and was probably younger than Vajhī. His poetry began to make him famous in the time of Muḥammad Qulī, when he ultimately became the chief rival of Vajhī.

(1) See B.M., MS., Foll. 209^a. 216^b. 254^b, 260.

(2) See B.M. MS., Fo. 271^a.

(3) See B.M. MS., Foll. 217-221.

As the literary activities of King Muhammad's reign are not yet known, it is difficult to say what position Ghawwāgī enjoyed in his court, but there is little doubt he was not duly patronised in those days, because when he wrote his first long Masnawī "Saif-ul-Mulūk", just after the coronation of King 'Abdullāh, he was in very poor circumstances. In the epilogue of this Masnawī he expresses the hope of being relieved from his miserable condition if the king were pleased with his work. It is evident that he was then a court servant, but, as he says, although an ordinary servant, he was the greatest of the poets.

Like Vajhī, Ghawwāgī was also, in spite of his unhappy condition, a proud poet. His first Masnawī is not in any way inferior to Qutub Muhtārī as regards egotistical expression. Though he does not satirize any particular poet, his attacks are more numerous and bitter. He believes that all the other poets are his dependents and that their poetry benefited by his composition.

It is particularly remarkable that the same haughty Ghawwāgī had become quite a different man when composing his second Masnawī, Tutī Nāmā, fourteen years later. In this poem he appears very quiet, contented and unassuming. In fact, during this long period his life was totally changed. He had no great rival left, the old Vajhī was probably dead.

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and he had become the chief of all the court poets and was basking in the favours of a benevolent king, as he himself has mentioned in the prologue of this poem.⁽¹⁾

In 1635, i.e. four years before composing Tūtī Nāmā, and at the time when Vajhī wrote his Saḥras, Ghawwāṣī's success was perhaps at its zenith. In the biography of King 'Abdullāh (see Appendix) we find a very useful account of Ghawwāṣī, a summary of which is worth mentioning here. In the year 1635 when King Muḥammad 'Adil Shāh of Bījāpūr was suffering from the dictatorship of his prime minister Khawās Khā, he requested the help of his brother-in-law, King 'Abdullāh of Golkundā, whose devices at last made him successful. Consequently, he sent his great court poet, Malik Khushnūd, with many presents to express his gratitude in the Golkundā court where the poet was duly honoured, and after a time was sent back to Bījāpūr in the company of Ghawwāṣī, the greatest Golkundā poet. Ghawwāṣī received many favours in Bījāpūr, and returned to Golkundā with a big elephant, six Arabian horses and two boxes of costly presents.

Ghawwāṣī is still considered a Shī'a Muslim, although much internal evidence goes to prove that he was a Sunnī. In the Masnawī "Saif ul Mulūk" he ardently praises the Prophet

(1) See B. M. MS., fol. 178^b.

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Companions, the Ghaus-e-A'zam i.e. 'Abdul Qādir Jilānī of Baghdad, and Khājā Banda Nawās of Gulbarga. ⁽¹⁾

In the same MS. there is a good miniature of the poet in which he is shown, standing, as a young man with a very small beard and moustache. He is dressed in the court costume and has a notebook in his hand. Behind him is a black boy, probably a slave, with a book under his arm.

Ghawwāgī's first poem "Saif-ul-Mulūk-o-Badī'ul Jamāl", was begun probably in the reign of Muhammad Qutub Shāh, but it was completed in the first year of King 'Abdullāh's reign i.e. in 1625. It contains nearly 2000 couplets which were, as the author points out, composed without any interruption. It is not an original story; it is borrowed from the famous Arabian Nights, and depicts the romance of the King of Egypt Saif-ul-Mulūk, and the Chinese princess Badī'-ul-Jamāl.

The style of this Magnawī is not so simple and charming as that of Qutub Mushtarī, and not so clear and agreeable as that of Gulshan-e-'Ishq, although it has no trace of labour and is free from complications. Ghawwāgī very often employs Hindu constructions, themes and idioms which are not so largely used by his contemporaries, Muqratī and Ibn-e-Nashātī.

(1) See B.M., MS., Foll. 3^a-4^b.

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Ghawwāṣī's second poem, Tūtī Nāmā was begun a few year after the production of the first, but was not completed until 1649, when the author was compelled to finish it by his friends and admirers. ⁽¹⁾ He did not translate the whole Persian text but, as he says, selected a few good incidents which he related in 4000 couplets.

At the end of the poem he has added some 100 more couplets which deal with his mystic turn of mind. He abuses himself for having indulged all his life in worldly affairs. He decides not to write any more poetry, and concludes the epilogue with the solemn promise of abstaining from taking any further interest in worldly matters.

The style of Tūtī Nāmā is, naturally, more simple and sweet. It proves Ghawwāṣī's mastery of language, and is marked by emotion, freedom from constraint, and elegance of diction. It is equal to "Saif-ul-Mulūk" in delineation of love and pathos, although the latter excels it in true poetic quality.

(2) QUTBĪ (about 1637)

He was also a Golconda poet, and translated a Persian religious poem, Tuḥfat-un-Naṣā'ih of Shāikh Jūsuf of Delhi, a disciple of the famous Delhi saint, Khājā Naṣīruddīn, into Dakhanī verse in the year 1637, A.D.

(1) See fol. 177^a

The Dakhanī Tuhfat-un-Nagā'ih contains 766 couplets in the form of a qasīdā composed in the same metre and rhyme as that of the Persian. The book is divided into 45 headings and deals with religious duties. The MS is extant in a private library in Hyderabad. It has no literary importance at all.

Nothing is known about the poet qutbī. There was another poet having the same nom-de-plume in Northern India, whose work Terā Māsā, a manuscript, is preserved in the India Office Library. In the catalogue of this Library and subsequently in all other writings about Dakhanī works, the qutbī of Terā Māsā is mentioned as the same man as the author of Tuhfat-un-Nagā'ih, but they are not identical.

The present writer has gone through the whole qutbī manuscript of the India Office (No. A 45 to B 93) and consequently came to the conclusion that:

1. The qutbī of the Terā Māsā was quite a different person from the author of the Tuhfat, and that one was a Dak poet, while the other belonged to Northern India;
2. The Northern qutbī was born nearly a century after the death of the Dakhanī one;
3. The Northern qutbī was a disciple of Mirzā Jān-e-Jānī Mazhar, and in his Terā Māsā he has illustrated meta-

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phorically his own spiritual exploits in order to approach Maḡhar and become his disciple. This book contains some very good material about the great ḡūfī poet, Jān-e-Jānā Maḡhar.

(3) JUNAIDĪ (about 1653)

The author of Urdū-e- qadīm, who has apparently not seen any MS. of his work Māh Paikar, and whose only authority is Stewart, writes that Junaidī's name was Shaikh Ahmad. But Stewart himself has neither mentioned the name nor written anything about the author of Māh Paikar. In the biography of King 'Abdullāh, (see appendix), a contemporary court history of Junaidī's time, his name is given as 'Alī Akbar Junaidī Dakhanī.⁽¹⁾ Though in the MS. it is not mentioned that Junaidī the courtier, was the author of Māh Paikar, yet, as it is certain that the Junaidī of Māh Paikar was a poet of 'Abdullāh's reign, and that there is no authority for his name's being Shaikh Ahmad, there is no reason to doubt that his real name was "'Alī Akbar".

As regards the Maḡhawī Māh Paikar, nothing is known except that it was composed in King 'Abdullāh's reign, in 1653 and that a manuscript of it was in the library of Tipū Sultan.

(1) See B. M., MS., Fol. 271^b.

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of Mysore, as is mentioned in Stewart's catalogue of that library. This Masnawī is probably not extant now.

(4) IBN-E-NASHĀTĪ (About 1655)

Ibn-e-Nashātī was a poet of 'Abdullāh's time. Like Rustamī of Bījāpur, he was connected with the royal court, perhaps as a writer, and was not an obscure personality.

He was, as he himself points out in the epilogue of his only Masnawī Phūl Ban, a prose writer, and had never before attempted poetry. He says, "I do not compose ghazal but it cannot be a hindrance to my success, for great poets like Nizāmī and Sa'dī also have not written ghazals, and I shall gain popularity as they did by means of Masnawī alone."

He further says: "If I had been one of the courtiers and poets, or completely free from anxieties of working for a livelihood, I should certainly have produced a really great work."

Unlike other poets, he neither complains nor attacks a poet. He is glad that he is not a great man, yet people believe in him and admire him. He seems to be contented with his lot, and is proud of his unexpected success in composition. He does not want to be congratulated by his contemporary li

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ing poets, he does not even mention them. he wishes great poets like Fīroz, Maḥmūd, Khīālī, Aḥmad and Shauqī, were alive, for he ^{was} sure they would commend his amateur attempt. He has added at the end of his Maḡnawī, a ghazal in praise of the attempt, ⁽¹⁾ and perhaps to show that he could write ghazals when he liked. In the prologue Naṣṭatī says that he was desirous of leaving his name behind him by means of producing some real work, and that when he read the Persian story, "Basātin," he found it worth translating. This idea was strengthened by the fact that he found several complications in the Persian book, and as he was confident about his knowledge of Persian, he thought himself a fit person to translate it into Dakhnī verse and to make it very easy solving as well as avoiding all complications and difficulties of style and meaning. Consequently he began the work, and completed it after writing 1700 couplets in 1655 in three months.

Phūl Ban is, undoubtedly one of the few poems which were produced after real hard labour. The author's main object was to produce a pure literary and interesting book, and not a dry and literal translation of the Persian story. He tried, as he says in the epilogue, to introduce 39 kinds

(1) See In. Off. MS., Vol. 131.

of poetic beauties according to the rules of prosody; still the poem has not become a mere experiment of this kind.

It is one of the best Dakhani Maghawis as regards language and style. Its metre is also uncommon and charming. The author seems to be very anxious to show his originality at almost every step. His descriptions of festivities and marriage ceremonies are very natural and true to life. They are true pictures of the social activities and customs of the Golkunda kingdom.

The epilogue of Phul Ban is one of the most important historical records about the Golkunda Urdu poetry, and also about the life of the author. It was composed and added to the poem by the author himself long after the composition of the principal work, because it shows how the author had become popular since its production. The King had duly rewarded him, and the public was also impressed by the literary treatment of the theme.

It further says that there was a rich and noble Jagirdar (land-owner) of the fort Bidhoj who, with her whole aristocratic family, about which the poet has written at length, was very much interested in literature. She was much pleased by Ibn-e-Nashati's work, and wanted it to be copied with

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copious illustrations, and therefore ordered him to write a more detailed account of the marriage ceremony, which he did. It is rather interesting to point out that the India Office MS. is fortunately the one which was copied for this lady. It abounds in beautiful and rich illustrations and is very well written in Naskhi handwriting.

There is a fine miniature of the poet himself, which is more realistic and masterly than that of Ghawwāgī in his manuscript of Saif-ul-Mulūk. Ibn-e-Nashātī is shown in this miniature as an elderly man, not old, sitting in his dīwān Khānā, (drawing-room), with a notebook in his hand.

It is generally stated that Ibn-e-Nashātī is the author of another poem, called Tūtī Nāmā, but the present writer does not find any reason for accepting the statement. On the other hand, he is inclined, on the basis of the following argument, to believe that Ibn-e-Nashātī did not write any such work:

1. All those writers who mention Ibn-e-Nashātī's Tūtī Nāmā quote Stewart as their authority, but Stewart himself does not refer to Ibn-e-Nashātī at all. There is no doubt he mentions two poems, Phul Ban and Tūtī Nāmā in the same place and at the end says that the author was Avari (?), but this does not sufficiently prove that Avari was the author of both.

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the poems, or that Avarī was the nom-de-plume of Ibn-e-Nashātī . It may be that Stewart could not find the name of the author of Phūl Ban, but discovered the author of Tūtī Nāmā, and as both the poems were copied together, he thought that they were the work of one and the same author, and that Avarī wrote the Phūl Ban.

2. The second writer who mentions Ibn-e-Nashātī's Tūtī Nāmā is Gargın de Tassy, who has himself seen one Tūtī Nāmā of Avarī, but he does not, however, prove that Ibn-e-Nashātī and Avarī are the names of only one man.

The present writer has tried his best to find the name Avarī in the Phūl Ban manuscript, but he was unable to discover it.

3. It is an acknowledged fact, as we have already shown, that Phūl Ban was Ibn-e-Nashātī's first poetic attempt. He did not write any poem before the date 1655, whereas de Tassy says Tūtī Nāmā by Avarī was composed in 1640. Thus it is clear that it was not composed by Ibn-e-Nashātī.

4. The date of the composition of Avarī's Tūtī Nāmā, given by de Tassy, is that of Ghawwāgī's composition of his Tūtī Nāmā, and it is most probable that the poem seen by de Tassy was no other than that of Ghawwāgī. But as de Tassy himself had seen both of them and distinguished one from the other, it may not be wrong to say that there was another Tūtī Nāmā

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translated by a certain poet named Avarī which was not composed by Ibn-e-Nashājī.

(5) MĪRĀ YĀQŪB (about 1667)

Nothing is yet known about the life of Mīrā Yāqūb. His work is the third extant example of Urdū prose in Golkundā. It is a translation of Shimāil-ul-Atqiyā, a Persian book on mysticism by Shaikh Ruknuddīn 'Imād Kāshānī, a disciple of Shaikh Burhamuddīn, one of the greatest saints of the Dakhan. Ruknuddīn has displayed a profound knowledge in his book, and has based it on more than one hundred Arabic and Persian works. To translate such a book in the plain style and simple manner which is the chief characteristic of Yāqūb's work, shows that the translator was not an ordinary writer, though unfortunately our knowledge of his other works is very limited.

Mīrā Yāqūb completed his work in or after 1667 A.D., and one of its MSS is preserved in H.E.H. the Nizam's State Library. Like the original work, it is divided into four chapters, and is an almost perfect adaptation.

6. TAB'Ī (about 1670)

His Masnawī Bahram-o-Gul Andām is one of the best Dakhan productions. It is the best work^{last} produced on the adventures of King

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Bahrām, the first two were composed in Bījāpūr. Its language, style, and poetic beauties are worth considering. The poem proves Tab'ī to be not only a good poet but a scientific author. His arrangement of chapters and lines is so regular and systematic that it resembles an up-to-date scientific book. He has tried to produce an equal number of couplets under each heading; moreover, when the father of the hero gives him counsels, the poet has represented each counsel in seven couplets.⁽¹⁾

Composing a poem of this kind, comprising 1340 couplets in the limited space of only 40 days, is proof enough, as the author himself has pointed out in the epilogue, in favour of the poet's mastery.

The present British Museum MS. contains only 1250 couplets; the fate of the other 100 is not known.

Tab'ī seems to be the last but one of the great poets of Golkundā, Fāez being the last. He was not unaware of his own importance. Unlike the other poets who wrote on the subject of Bahrām, he is very hot in attacking his rivals and praising his own poetry. His statements suggest that he was not an obscure poet and that he expected to be congratulated on his attempt.

(1) See B.M., MS., Add. 10590, fol. 33^a.

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In spite of his egotism, he does not seem to forget the really great poets. He bows with reverence at the name of Vajhī, whom he considers such a great authority on poetry that he is even proud of having heard him praise his work in a dream.

Ṭab'ī's greatest characteristic, or his success, as it may rightly be called, was his true imitation of Vajhī. He strictly followed his great predecessor and in doing so cultivated a good poetic style himself.

He has written brilliant ascriptions of praise to his spiritual master Shāh Rājū, and his patron, King Tūnā Shāh. His praise of the king is not merely formal. He seems to have had a very sincere regard for him, which may be traced even in the poem itself. It must also be remarked that while expressing such regard he was not, as he himself tells us, receiving benefit in any way from the king.

The praise of Shāh Rājū is not composed in the form of a *Magnawī*. It is a small and brilliantly written *qaṣīdā*. There is also a good *ghazal*, written in imitation of Vajhī, which occurs in the middle of the *Magnawī* and takes the form of an address from King Bahrām to his father.

(1) See B.M. MS., fol. 32^b.

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There is a little difference in the story depicted by Tab'ī and that of Bahrām-o-Bānu Husn of Amīn and Daulat.

1. The greatest difference lies in the point of view of the authors of the two Magnawī. Tab'ī's main object was not only to depict a story but to produce some poetry. He has not strictly followed the Persian story; his originality of mind did not allow of his being a mere slave. He depicts more natural events and the affairs of every-day life.

2. There is, no doubt, a difference in style also, and in this matter Tab'ī's work is superior to the other.

3. Tab'ī begins his story from the birth of his hero, while in the other Magnawī he is presented from his twentieth year.

(7) AMIN (About 1680)

He was a poet of 'Abdullāh's time, although his poem, the story of Abū Shāhna, was completed in the reign of Tūnā by another man whose name is not given. The epilogue is important, on account of the information it imparts.

The real author, it seems, was a court poet, as he says "When the King is pleased by hearing my story it will surely become popular." He was a Sunni poet, and praised the Prophet, Companions and Khājā Baudā Nawāz of Gulbargā. He began his poem in the month of Ramazān.

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In the epilogue it is mentioned that the real author, who was famous and whose name was Amín, began to compose this version of a Persian story when he was only sixteen years old, but that unfortunately he could not complete it.

When a second poet read it and discovered its qualities he made up his mind to complete it, which he ultimately did in 1680, thinking himself a fortunate man. There are only 607 couplets in the whole poem. The style is very simple, and abounds in poetic beauties. There is no strict consideration of ~~qafí~~^ḡ and radifs; in some places the poem gives the impression of having been composed in blank verse.

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(4) ABUL HASAN TĀNĀ SHĀH. (1672 - 1687).

This unfortunate King was the last of the qutub shāhī dynasty. He was more of a ṣūfī than a king, and is still remembered in Hyderābād as a goodnatured monarch and a broad minded ṣūfī.

He reigned for fifteen years, during which time Urdu literature was still developing. There are traces of many poets who flourished in his reign. He was himself a poet and his dethronement, and subsequent death as a miserable prisoner prevented his becoming famous.

On account of his strict imprisonment, it is very probable that people were not able to copy his poems, and no manuscript of his compositions is yet known, although we find in Tazkī a few couplets which are attributed to him.

(1) FĀIZ. (about 1683) is one of the best Dakhnī poets and the last great qutub shāhī writer. He was a Shi'a and in his prologue he has depicted the 'Id-e-Qadīr festival which is one of the basic elements of the Sunnī and Shi'a controversies. He had good literary taste, but he was not a professional poet, though he was fond of reading romances and poetry, and went through many works. It was through his taste for reading that he was tempted to write something himself.

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Accordingly he was anxious to get an opportunity. After spending much time in selecting a good subject, he at last took up the story of Rīṣwan Shāh-o-Rūh Afzā, which he found as a work of Persian prose.

He finished his work in 1683, four years before the downfall of the kingdom, and composed nearly 2500 couplets.

Fāiz very frankly declares in the prologue, that he was not a good poet, had had no practice in composition, and was ashamed to boast about his childish attempt. Moreover, he says, he had taken up the work neither with the ambition of being rewarded or patronised by anyone, nor in expectation of popularity or any kind of success, but simply to satisfy his natural craving to compose, and at the repeated request of his friends. He was somehow or other free from the anxiety of having to earn his living, and therefore never uttered a single word against anybody.

With the MS copy of his Maṣnawī in the British Museum, there are two printed folios; one is the title page, showing that the Maṣnawī was edited with a running glossary in Urdu by Major M.W. Carr of the Madras Staff Corps. The printing was begun in 1870, but as the Major was drowned near Gōn on January 13th 1871, nothing more was printed. On the back page is printed that "Little has hitherto been done for the

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Dakhani dialect of the Hindustani language. It is the editor's intention, if he receives any encouragement, to publish a series of works by the poets of the Dakhan. Among these the following may be named:-

Gulshane Ishq, by Musrati,

Phul Ban, by Ibn-e-Nashati,

Kissa-e-Bibi Maryam (History of the Virgin Mary)

Apart from the title page there is a specimen of the poem itself. The notes and the meanings in the margins show how the Major was labouring on editing this work. It is a pity that his untimely death left such a useful and important work unfinished.

The poem "Riswan Shāh-o-Rūh Afzā", is very interesting as regards style; it is so unlike the other old Dakhani works. Persian and Arabic words and constructions are employed in great abundance, instead of the Hindi ones. It is nearer to Wālī's Maghawīs in language. While reading it one is tempted to think that it was not written under the Qutub Shāhī rule, and if there had been no date of composition in it, one would certainly have included it in the Dakhani productions of the time of the Mughal conquest.

Anyhow, it shows that in the reign of Tānā Shāh the tendency to mix Persian in the language was gaining ground.

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and that the old charming style of Vajhi and Ghawwāgī was no more the fashion of the day.

(2) Lajpī (About 1684) was a noble of King Abdullāh's time, and was proud of being a quzalbāsh, and also of being a native of the city of Hyderābād. It is rather interesting to note that as other poets have praised their poetical ability, so he has mentioned his own nobility, benevolence and general character.

He was not a professional poet, and like all other amateurs had no desire to be patronised or to become popular; he was himself a well-to-do religious man, and it was owing to religious impulse that he composed such a long, dry poem of more than 5300 couplets.

The name of this poem is Zafar Nāmā; it deals with the battles of Hussain with his enemies, and begins with the usual ascription of praise to God, His Prophet, and 'Alī. There is a valuable and lengthy epilogue also, in which the poet argues in favour of his poem being superior to the Shāh Nāmā of Firdausī, for that was, according to his belief, a false romance of the adventures of a somewhat inferior type of people, whereas his own work is based on the golden deeds of the family of the great Alī.

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Latīf completed this poem in 1684, after a year's constant work. At the end he ^{added} ~~called it~~ Eleven Margias in the form of Maḡnawī, on the martyrdoms of Imām Ḥusain, his family and Companions.

He was not a good poet and his style is not agreeable or clear. The calligraphy of his manuscript is bad, and it is rather difficult to read his verses correctly. The Margias are indeed worth considering; but they too have no great literary importance. The author's main object was to produce a pure religious poem and not a piece of literature.

(3) NŪRĪ. (About 1680)

It has been pointed out in the previous chapter that there was some confusion about this poet. He is not identical with the Nūrī who was a friend of Fāḡī and also a poet of Bijapur; on the contrary, he flourished nearly a century later, and his name was Shujā'uddīn. He belonged to a Sayyid family of Gujrāt, and like many of the Gujrātī literary men, left that city for the Dekhan. In Hyderābād he was appointed tutor to the son of the Prime Minister, a position which he enjoyed for a long time.. After leaving Hyderābād, Nūrī settled down in Parēda (a town near Aurangābād) where he eventually died.

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He may naturally have composed Urdu poetry, as almost all contemporary Golkundā courtiers were Urdu poets. Some of his couplets are found in Urdu Tagkiras and show that he must have been a good Urdu writer. The developed form of the language used in the Margias attributed to the first Nūrī suggests that they most probably were the productions of this Nūrī, and that they were afterwards wrongly attributed to his predecessor.

(4) SHAHĪ (About 1687)

Shāh qulī Khā, a native of Hyderābād, was well known for his learning and capabilities. He was first employed in the Golkundā army but gradually rose to the position of a king's courtier, which he maintained until the downfall of the kingdom.

Tānā Shāh requested him to begin composing Margias which he did with great success. They acquired so much popularity that Aurangzib's soldiers learned them by heart and took them to many parts of Northern India, where they were often recited until the beginning of the 18th century.

The writer has seen two of Shāhī's Margias in the Edinburgh University library bayāz, which though they do not contain more than thirty couplets are of very high literary quality. They also prove that the author was a prejudiced

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Shī'a; he has bitterly abused the Prophet's Companions.

One Margia is very valuable. It describes the hard journey ^{from} Karbalā to Damascus of the imprisoned family of Hussain after his death. It is extremely realistic, and is equal even to some of Anīs's descriptions of this type. The language is rich and poetical.

(5) MIRZĀ (About 1687)

Abul Qāsim Mirzā was one of the most loyal courtiers of Abul Hasan Tānā Shāh, after whose imprisonment he was so much depressed that he began to lead an ascetic life in 'Abdullā Gafīj in Hyderābād, where he died as a Faqīr. He was an Urdu poet, and a few of his couplets are preserved in the Tagkiras. Though he is not supposed to have composed Margias, the present writer inclines to the belief that he may have been a writer of Margias also.

In the Edinburgh bayāz, as has already been mentioned in the previous chapter, there are 15 Margias of more than 200 couplets, which are the work of a poet Mirzā. But it is not certain whether all of them were written by the same man. The internal evidence shows us that the author of some of them was alive as late as 1736; and it does not seem probable that a courtier of Tānā Shāh (1672-87) could have lived as long as that. But although it cannot be said that all

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of them were composed by this Mirzā, it looks possible that some of them were certainly his productions.

(6) GHULĀM 'ALĪ (About 1637).

This poet belonged to Tanhā Shah's reign, and translated the Hindī poem Padmāvat of Malik Muhammad Jāisi into Urdu. Nothing is known about him, but from the short prologue to his work, preserved in the India Office Library, ⁽¹⁾ we may learn that he was a Sunnī Muslim, for he has praised the Prophet's Companions, and that he was somehow or other attached to the king, for he has earnestly praised him also. His name, however, appears at many places in the poem as ghulāmi 'Alī.

He has, in the epilogue, also mentioned the reason for his translating the Padmāvat. He says that the story was very popular in his time because it contained some good love episodes, on account of which he was also tempted to translate it. The existing manuscript of his work, which contains nearly 680 couplets, is incomplete, the last folios are missing.

Ghulām 'Alī seems to have been a good poet, although a poor translator. The many original remarks which are added to every story are of good poetical quality. They prove th

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he could write a better poem of his own, and that he had much practice in writing Ghazal-like poems. He cannot be considered as a first class Qutub Shāhī poet, although he is one of the best poets of Tānā Shāh's reign.

For the purposes of translation Qulām 'Alī had sometimes to change the order of the original ideas. His work is peculiar because it is perhaps the only Golkundā maghawī translated from a language other than Persian. In spite of being a translation from Hindi it does not contain many Hindi words. There seems to be very little difference between the vocabulary of this author and that of his contemporaries.

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APPENDIX I.

A detailed list of Golkundā authors and their works.

1. FĪROZ (about 1580)

Work not yet known.

2. MAHMŪD (about 1580)

Work not yet known.

3. MUHAMMAD QULĪ QUTUB SHĀH (d. 1611)

Complete poetical works, entitled "Dīwān".
MS. preserved in H.M.H. The Nizām's private library

4. VAJHĪ (about 1608-35)

1. qutub Mushtarī (1608)
MS. Ind. Off. Library P. 1332, B.122.

2. Sabras (1635)

5. AHMAD (about 1600)

Lailā Majnū (before 1611).
MS incomplete, preserved by Prof. Shīrānī, Panjāb

6. KHUDĀ NUMĀ (d. 1659)

Sharh-e-Sharh-e-Tamhīd (1600).
MS. Auj. Taraqqī-e-Urdū, Aurangābād

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7. MUHAMMAD QUTUB SHAH (d. 1624)

Poetical works.

A few selections published in Mahbūli-uz-Zaman.
MS. preserved in Sir Sālār Jang's Library
Hyderābād De.

8. SHAUQĪ (about 1625)

Work not yet known.

9. KHIYĀLĪ (about 1625)

Work not yet known.

10. 'ABDULLĀH QUTUB SHĀH (d. 1672)

Poetical Works.

A few selections published in Mahbūli-uz-Zaman.

11. GHAWWĀSĪ (about 1608-49)

1. Saif-ul-Mulūk (1625)

MSS. B.M., or. 86.

Ind. Off. Lib. P. 2495, B.99.

2. Tūtī Nāmā (1649)

MSS. B. M., Add. 10589.

12. QUTBĪ (about 1637)

Tuḥfat-un-Nagā'ih (1637)

MS. in a private library in Hyderābād

13. JUNAIDĪ (about 1653)

Māh Paikar (1653)

MS. was extant in Ṭipū Sultān's Library.

14. IBN-E-NASHĀTĪ (about 1655)

Phūl Ban (1655)

MSS. 1. Ind. Off. Lib. P. 14, B.103.

2. The Nizam's State Lib., Vol. II, p. 1500

15. MĪRĀ YĀQUB (about 1667)

A prose translation of Shimā'il-ul-Aṭṭiqiyāh (1667)
MS. H.E.H. The Niẓām's State Lib., No. Taghawwuf

16. ṬAB'Ī (about 1670)

Bahrām-o-Gul Andām (1670)
MS. B.M., Add. 10590.

17. AMĪN (about 1680)

Qissa-e-Abū Shāhna (1680)
MS. Ind. Off. Lib. P. 2832, B. 71.

18. ABUL ḤASAN TĀNĀ SHĀH (deposed 1687)

Couplets quoted in Taẓkiras.

19. FĀIZ (about 1683)

Riẓwān Shāh-u-Rah Afzā (1683).
MSs. 1. B.M., Or. 2716.
2. The Niẓām's State Lib. Vol. II, p. 1284

20. LAṬĪF (about 1684)

Zafar Nāma (1684)
MS. Ind. Off. Lib., P. 3036, B. 109.

21. NŪNĪ (about 1680)

Couplets quoted in Taẓkiras.

22. SHAHĪ (about 1687).

1. Couplets quoted in Taẓkiras.
2. Mārsias.
MS. Edinburgh University Library.

23. MIRZĀ (1687)

1. Couplets quoted in Taẓkiras.
2. Mārsias.
MS. Edinburgh University Library.

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24. GHULAM 'ALĪ (about 1687)

Padmāvat (before 1687)

MS. Ind. Off. Lib., P. 2727, B. 73.

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APPENDIX II.

Works on Golkundāh.

1. Nauras Nāmā or Gulshan-e- Ibrāhīmī.
See Appendixes, Chapters I and III.

2. Tazkirat-ul-Mulūk.
See Appendixes, Chapters I and III.

3. Tārīkh-e-Sultān Muḥammad Qutub Shāhī.
A history of the Qutub Shāhs from their origin to
A.D. 1616. By an anonymous author.
Commenced in 1617 and completed in 1618.
B.M., MS. Add. 6542; Ind. Off. Persian MS. 179.

4. Ma'āsir-e-Qutub Shāhī Maḥmūdī.
A summary account of the reign of Muḥammad Qutub
Shāh, together with a detailed account of all
contemporary events. By Muḥammad B. 'Abdullāh
Nishapuri. Compiled in 1628, A.D.
MS., Ind. Office, Persian MS. 841.

5. Ḥadiqat-us-Salatīn.
A history of 'Abdullāh Qutub Shāh, from his birth
to the end of the 16th year of his reign, i.e. to
A.D. 1640. By Nizāmuddin Ahmad B. 'Abdullāh
Shīrāzi-aq-qā'idī.
MS., B.M. Add. 6542; Ind. Off. Persian MS. 2978

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6. Qazāyā-e-Salātīn-e-Dakhan.

See Appendix, Chapter I.

7. Tannīq-e-Shigarf.

See Appendix, Chapter I.

8. Hadīqat-ul-'Ālam.

A history of the qutub shahs, from their origin to the end. By 'Abūl Qāsim Mīr 'Ālam B. Haqīuddin Mūsavī. Compiled after A.D. 1802. MS. B.M. Add. 26258; Ind. Office, Persian, Ms.

CHAPTER V

URDU UNDER THE MUGHALS

(1637 - 1720)

CONTENTS.

A. In Northern India

1. Afzal 2. Jivan 3. Jafar

B. In the Dakhan and Gujrāt.

(1) General poets

1. 'Ājiz 2. Za'ifī 3. Amīn 4. Zauqī
5. Bahrī 6. Mujrimī 7. Ahmad 8. Valī of Vel
9. Ashraf 10. Valī of Aurangābād.

(2) Margia-writers

1. Imāmī 2. Razā 3. Sayyid 4. Ghulāmī
5. Qādir 6. Hāshim'Alī

(3) Prose-writers

1. Shāh Muhammad Qādrī 2. Shāh mīr

C. Appendix I

A detailed list of the writers and their works of this period.

D. Appendix II

A detailed list of the contemporary Margia-writers and their manuscripts in the Edinburgh University Library.

URDU UNDER THE MUJHALS

In this chapter all those Urdu writers are discussed who either flourished in Southern India after the Mughal conquest, or belonged to other cities of the North, and were not in any way patronised by the Mughal courts.

The Dakhanī part deals with only poets who wrote between 1687 A.D. (i.e. the year of the final victory of Aurangzib in the Dakhan) and 1722, (i.e. the time when Valī of Aurangābād travelled to Delhi, and influenced the Northern poets in favour of Urdu.)

The Northern portion does not present many poets, and is, therefore, comparatively short. One poet, Afzāl, is a contemporary of great Qutub Shāhī poets.

The writer originally intended to include in this thesis, a separate chapter on the Northern Urdu literature before the Dakhanī influence. But, as there were not many Urdu poets, and those included in this category by Āzād Bilgrāmī, in his "Sarv-e-Āzād", and by Mahmūd Shīrānī in his "Panjāb me Urdu" are more or less poets of Braj Bhāshā, and not of Urdu, it seems advisable to include

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the few Northern poets in this chapter. They also may properly be called "Urdu poets under the Mughals" on account of their being Mughal subjects.

(1) Afzal (about 1626)

There is some confusion as regards the life and writings of this poet, though the author of "Panjāb-me-Urdu" has tried his best to come to some conclusion about him. He is the first writer to suggest that the Afzal of "Bārā Māsā" was a poet of Northern India. But it is not safe to believe his arguments without further investigation, because his only authority is 'Alī qulī Khān Vālā Daghīstānī, who has mentioned in his tazkira of Persian poets - "Riyāz-ush-Shu'rā", (see B.M., Ms. Add.16729, Fols. 48, 49), a poet whose nom-de-plume was Afzal, and who wrote in Hindī also. It must be noticed that Vālā does not say that his Afzal was also the author of a collection of Bārā Māsā or Bīkat Kahānī. Moreover the specimens of Afzal's poetry he has quoted, are all in Persian, and not in Urdu, and it is probable that that Afzal was, like some other Muslim poets, mentioned by Āzād Bilgrāmī, a poet of pure Braj-Bhāshā, and not of Urdu.

There is another ^{poet} poet which throws quite a different

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light on this matter. The present writer has found in the India Office Library, a long poem by a certain Muhammad Afzal Qadrī, who was a Dakhani poet, and who wrote before 1692, A.D., the date of the copying of the existing manuscript. And not only this, he has been in Edinburgh University Library, a *marṣia* which was composed by an Afzal, and which resembles a great deal in style the "Bārā Māsā" two old manuscripts of which are preserved in the India Office Library. (1)

But in spite of all these considerations, the writer is still unable to form any final opinion about this matter, and that is why he is at present mentioning Afzal in the category of Northern writers. Although the language of the Ind. Office "Bārā Māsā" is not quite different from that of other Dakhani works, still there is a point which makes one doubt its being a Dakhani production that is the form of the past tense. The old Dakhani writers always retain the "y" in the verb stems as dharyā, sunyā, calyā, likhyā (wrote), etc., whereas (kept) (heard) (went)

(1) In the catalogue the author of Bārā Māsā is mentioned as Gopāl, but the internal evidence proves that his nom de plume was Afzal.

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in the "Bāra Māsā" these forms are dharā, sunā, calā, et

The plot of the poem does not seem to be original. Like other Hindī poems of this kind, it is an interesting account of a wife's love, who waits for her husband for 12 months, and who is shown relating to her girl friends the sorrowful events experienced by her in each month of her loneliness. It was composed in imitation of the Hindī Bāra Māsās, contains nearly 300 couplets, and abounds in Persian words and phrases, a characteristic common to that of the mārgia of Afzal in the Edinburgh University Library.

The other maghawī which is also written by a certain Afzal, and which now exists in India Office Library, contains nearly 225 couplets, and is composed on the life and miracles of Maḥbūb Subḥānī, the greatest sunnī saint. (1) From internal evidence we know that the author's name was Muḥammad Afzal Qādrī, and that he was a disciple of Mīr Shāh Ka'ruḥ. In the prologue the author has praised Khajā Banda Nawāz of Gulbarga, a fact that ^{proves} he was a Dakhanī. The poem, being too religious, is not very interesting, but the style is rather simple.

(1) See MS. No. P.2727-B.73

(2) Shaikh Jīvan (about 1720)

Mahmūd Shīrānī, the author of "Panjāb me Urdu", in order to strengthen his argument that Urdu was written in Northern India, before the influence of Val by more than one writer, has mentioned Shaikh Jīvan among his list of the Northern Urdu writers. But, we are not satisfied with his statements about this poet. He has included his name among Northern poets without having even tried to prove that Shaikh Jīvan did not long to the Dakhan.

His only knowledge about the poet lies in the facts that:- 1. Sprenger has in his catalogue mentioned a poet whose name was Shaikh Jīvan, and that 2. Shīrānī found somewhere in a list of the disciples of Shāh Mīrā Bhīk Chishtī (d. 1718), a person who was called Shaikh Jīvan.

Before proceeding to discuss the main point, it seems advisable to point out that Shīrānī has not quoted any authority for his information as regards Shāh Mīrā Bhīk and his disciples, and therefore it is impossible to go further in this direction.

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Now, as regards his induction that the persons referred to in the above two statements, are the same Shaikh Jīvan, the author of "Dard Nāmā" and other Urdu poems, we cannot but doubt; he has not given any reason proving his belief that both the references are of one man. Thus there can be no objection to suppose that they were two quite different persons, or that even if both the statements refer to one that that man was a Dakhani. Unless it is proved that the author of "Dard Nāmā" was really a disciple of Shāh Mīrā B and that the latter was a North Indian saint, it is unwise to say that Shaikh Jīvan was not a Dakhani.

There is one more point worth considering in Shīrānī's statements. He used the name Mahbub-e-'Ālam for Sh. Jīvan whereas he has not written a single word suggesting that M. 'Ālam and Sh. Jīvan are the two different names of one and the same person. There is no doubt that he has quoted two Jhazal-like dohrās in which the name Mahbub-e-'Ālam occurs, but this fact does not prove that the dohrās were composed by Sh. Jīvan himself, or that he, instead of using this name, has used M. 'Ālam in them.

Shīrānī has not given any information about "Dard Nāmā" where he saw it, how he came to know that it was "Dard Nāmā".

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and was composed by Sh. Jīvan himself, all these are questions that are still worth considering.

Some more magṇawīs like "Maḥshar- Nāmā", "Khāb Nāmā" and "Daḥez Nāmā" are also attributed to this writer, but unfortunately they do not exist in any European or probably Indian library either. Sprenger, however, mentions that he saw them in the Libraries of the Kings of Oudh, and that all these poems were written more or less on religious subjects, especially referring to the Sunnī tenets. We also know that Dard Nāmā had nearly 1500 couplets, and Maḥshar-Nāmā nearly 300.

(3) MĪR JA'FAR ZATALLĪ (1659-1713)

Though he is not considered by his contemporaries or by later tazkīrah-writers, as a poet, there can be no doubt about some of his existing poems, with the exclusion of a few couplets, taking a good place in the ranks of Urdu poetry. He was born in 1659 A.D. the year when Aurangzib became king, and was the third child of his parents. His father was Sayyid 'Abbās, a shop-keeper in Narnaul, who left him an orphan in his early childhood.

He was brought up under the supervision of his uncle Mīr Sarwar, and after getting some education in a school, he went out to service. Fortunately, he was employed in the

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army of Prince Kām Bakhsh who accompanied his father, Aurangzīb to the Dakhan. Thus Mīr Ja'far had the opportunity of spending a time in the Dakhan where he surely may have come into contact with the native poets, or at least read their popular poems.

It was undoubtedly this passive influence that made Mīr Ja'far inclined to compose poetry in Urdu. But, when he went back to Delhi, he found that nobody paid any attention to his Urdu compositions, and now he had to think out some device in order to attract his hearers, probably that moulded the whole of his future poetical career. First he may have tried to mix Persian words and phrases with his Urdu couplets. but when he found that they did not become well-known, he began to write satirical verses, and thus easily gained his purpose of extracting money from nobles and rich merchants who were always afraid of his Urdu and Persian lampoons. We find several interesting incidents in old tazkiras and also in his collections of mixed Persian and Urdu poems (most of them form a part of Urdu manuscripts in the British Museum, and India Office libraries), about his earning a livelihood and gaining great rewards from wealthy people of his time. He was feared by some great literary personalities.

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such as Bedil and Hazīn also.

But in spite of all these successes he had to suffer a great deal on account of his satirical and filthy productions. He was more than once dismissed from service and was at last put to death by order of the emperor, Farrukh Siyar in 1713, A.D.

Mir Ja'far's poetical collections are a strange mixture of good and indecent poetry. Barring his bad compositions, if we have to judge only his good poetry, we cannot but say that he was a good Urdu poet. This Indian Office manuscript, which is perhaps the most complete one, may be divided into three parts. First one entitled "Akhbārāt-e-Siyāsiya" (political news) contains four stories in Persian, describing 4 events reported to Aurangzib, and his answer in Urdu. These Urdu answers, although of not more than 4 lines in all, are very interesting, for they suggest that the great emperor also may have used Urdu in his private conversation.

The second part, entitled "Akhbārāt-e-Darbār-e-Mu'allā" (news of the grand court) contains 5 other stories four of which refer to the poet himself, and show how he extracted money from the courtiers, and what answer the emperor gave after hearing them.

The third part is very long. It includes nearly 40 Urdu and Persian poems on various subjects. Among the best specimens of his good Urdu poetry may be mentioned poems, entitled:-

1. ^{Subuk} Sutuk
2. Joban Nāmā
3. Ikhtilāf-e-Zamā
4. Margia-e-'Ālamgīr

The first one, of nearly 100 couplets, is the long of his poems, excluding perhaps the "Fāl Nāmā". It deals with the poet's inner self, and shows how he was himself ashamed of his indecent productions. In it Mīr Ja'far advises himself not to increase any more the bulk of his satirical collection. It distressed him to see how he created a filthy atmosphere, and nearly wasted the whole of his life. It is composed in a metre most commonly used by the Dakhani writers. It has very few Persian constructions and resembles the old Dakhanī works to such an extent that, were it to be taken out of Mīr Ja'far's works, no one could say that it is not a pure Dakhanī production.

His other poem worth mentioning, is the elegy on the death of Aurangzīb. It is rather surprising to see Mīr Ja'far who has satirised nearly everybody, rich and poor, has not written anything against Aurangzīb, even after his death! On the other hand, he has composed

whole separate poem in praise of the old emperor; it is the only eulogy in his collected works. This attitude of his towards Aurangzib indicates not only that he was really impressed by the emperor, but that he may have been a sincere and serious man at heart. His eulogy, though not without some wrong Persian compounds, is a good specimen of his power of observation and poetic vigour. It shows that he used to see things realistically and could depict them in a very natural and colloquial style.

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IN THE DAKHAN AND GUJRAT

(1) 'Ājiz (about 1689)

There was some confusion in old writers about the names and works of Dakhanī poets whose nom-de-plume was 'Ājiz, but in accordance with the scope of the present work, we are concerned only with the "Ājiz of "Malik e-Misr". His name was Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī, and he is the earliest of the poets called 'Ājiz.

A manuscript of Muḥammad 'Alī 'Ājiz's magnewī is preserved in the India Office Library, and contains nearly 400 couplets. It was completed in 1688 A.D. the date being given at the conclusion of the poem; it is really a translation of some Persian story. The author relates "that there was once a king of Egypt called Feroz Shāh, at whose death his wife was placed on the throne. After a reign of 11 years, she caused proclamation to be made that she would marry and make over the kingdom to anyone who could give correct replies to 100 questions propounded by her. Many

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aspirants to her hand and kingdom came forward, but, failing to answer her questions, they were all slain and gibbeted. At length a wise man, named 'Ahd-ul-'Alīm, came over from India. The poem deals chiefly with the nature of the questions put by the queen and the answers given by him. They embrace the principal Muhammadan beliefs regarding the creation, the Qur'ān and its teachings, articles of faith, and religious observances. The questions were satisfactorily answered by 'Ahd-ul-'Alīm who then married the Queen, and was made king."⁽¹⁾

After the usual ascriptions of praise to God and the prophet, the poet has eulogised his 'pīr' also, whose name is Sayyid Khund Mīr Shāh, and under whose guidance the poet expects his resurrection. He was then alive, for the poet is earnestly praying for his life to be longer.

He says that he had read the Persian story, and asked his 'pīr's' permission for its translation, because he was not self-confident enough to carry it out without some divine help.

The style of this book is clearer than that of many earlier maghawīs of the same school; it is specially superior to the Padmōvat of Gh̄hulām 'Alī. But 'Ājiz retains more archaic forms of language than Tali'i and some of his other contemporaries.

(1) Summary from Bl. Cat. p.35

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(2) ZA'IFĪ (about 1689)

His name was Shaikh Dā'ūd, and he was a learned scholar and a pious ṣūfī. He was brought up during the Qutub Shāhī days, and completed his big work "Hidāyat-e-Hindī", just after the downfall of that dynasty.

At present only two of Za'ifī's works are extant. One is preserved in the India Office Library, and is unfortunately without any date or title. It deals with the story of a woman who burned herself to death for love of the prophet Muhammad. It contains nearly 360 couplets, and begins without any prologue or ascriptions of praise.

There is no epilogue except that in a few couplets the poet has stated that he has translated it into Dakhani after hard work and a good struggle to understand many of the original ideas. His main object in doing so was to preach to his co-religionists the same kind of love for the prophet.

The maṣnawī, in spite of being on religious subjects, is not devoid of literary merits. The zealous woman who is the heroine of the story, is depicted with so much relief and fervour and vividness of minor details, that the whole

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story which, which is, of course, an imaginative one, like a true account of the prophet's life-time.

In the heroine's speeches, pure Hindi words and phrases are often used; this peculiarity suggests that the form of language spoken by women in those days, was to some extent, different from that of men and their vocabulary retained more Hindi and other archaic words.

Za'if's other magṇawī, entitled "Hidāyat-e-Hindī" is preserved in a private library in Hyderabad. It is very bulky and is divided into 22 chapters. It was completed in 1688, and deals with the religious beliefs, laws, and regulations of the Hanafī sect of Islam.

The prologue does not contain anything valuable, except the ordinary and usual kind of ascriptions of praise to God and the prophet. But the epilogue is rather important. In it the poet has written something about himself, and also about the reigning monarch, Aurangzib, who is lavishly eulogised.

The work is, more or less, of a religious type, and as the present writer has not seen it himself, he is at present unable to write anything more about it.

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(3) AMĪN (about 1698)

This was the second Amīn of Golkunda, (the first being a poet of 'Abdullāh's reign who began the composition of the Qissa-e-Abū Shahrā, but left it incomplete), and his was Shaikh Muhammad Amīn. He completed his work "Yūsuf Zalīkhā, in 1698, A.D., in the reign of Aurangzīb.

Dr. Sprenger refers to his manuscript, preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which had nearly 300 pages and 4500 couplets. The present writer has also seen a manuscript of this work in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris⁽¹⁾ which contains not more than 4000 couplets, and was copied for some European, a certain Captain Trair (?) in 1831. It was originally the property of Garcin de Tassy, and was presented to the Bib. Nat. after his death.

This Amīn was not a very great poet, although he had accomplished rather a big task. His translation, probably of the famous Persian Yūsuf Zalīkhā of Khusrān, is comparatively free from Persianisation. It looks like an original work. The style is generally simple, but sometimes when the poet tries to make himself out a great sūfī it becomes complicated. Its prologue and epilogue both are not important as regards information. They can only show that the writer was a religious man rather than a poet.

(1) Ind. MSS., No. 856

(4) ZANQI (about 1693)

His name was Sayyid Shāh Husain Zanqī, and the title given by his murshid, Shah Khan Muhammad, was Bahr-ul-'Irfāu. He was a religious man, and though not a professional poet, has complained in his poem about there being no king in the Dakhan to patronise him. But at same time, he thanks God for his being alive in the reign of a pious and religious king like Aurangzib.

As regards his poem "Viṣāl-ul-'Ashiqīn", he states that he was anxious to compose some interesting poetry so that he may long be remembered and that he had at last selected Vajhī's Sahras to be turned into a poem. Although he inclines to underrate Vajhī's work in favour of his own, yet, as a matter of fact, he could not produce a beautiful and interesting work equal to Sahras even in poetry.

Zanqī had written some more treatises in verse, even before the composition of Viṣāl-ul-'Āshiqīn. These were all composed on more or less religious subjects. One is an eulogy of Maḥbūb Subḥānī who is popularly called Ghaus-e-A'zam, the other an elegy on the death

the prophet, the third the story of the famous ṣūfī Mansūr, and the last one is entitled "Mā Bāp Nāmā", perhaps an advice to young men, pleading the case of the of the parents.

Zanqī composed some other forms of poetry also. Besides the maghawī Viṣāl-ul-ʿAshīqīn,⁽¹⁾ a collection of his ghazals also is preserved by the secretary Anjuman-e-Taraqqī-e-Urdū, who has given a few examples of them in his article published in the "Urdu" magazine. There are a few Urdu and Persian ghazals in an India Office manuscript also (see P. 3108). They show that the author is a well-practised poet.

The present writer is also informed that a complete diwān of Zanqī is extant in a private library in Hyderabad, but unfortunately he is not at present able to see it and write something more about this author.

(5) BAHRĪ (about 1701)

His name was Qāzī Mahmūd, and he was a son of Bahr ud-dīn, called Qāzī Daryā of Gogī, a village near Musratāhād, in the Bījāpūr kingdom. He was a ṣūfī, and

(1) See Urdu Magazine, Vol. V, no. 19, p.499

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had left his native village for Bījāpūr in 1684, where the king Sikandar 'Adil became his disciple, and gave him an appointment in the court.

In 1686, when the kingdom was conquered, and Sikandar was imprisoned by Aurangzīb, Bahrf went to Hyderabad, the only remaining centre for men of learning and literature at that time. On his way, he was robbed of all his possessions, and lost his own literary treasures also.

He did not enjoy honours in Hyderabad for long, for the next year this city and its ruler too, were captured by the strong Mughals. However, Bahrf continued his literary work during the latter tumultuous period, and in 1700, A.D., i.e. seven years before the death of Aurangzīb, completed a mystical magṇawī entitled "Man Lagan". Later on, in 1704, in accordance with the wishes of a few disciples, he converted the material into Persian.

This latter book, named "'Urūs-e-'Irfān", is important as regards the information it gives about the poet. Its epilogue shows that Bahrf had composed 50,000 couplets of Marṇas, ghazals, ruba'is, and qasidas in Dakhanī and Persian, before leaving Bījāp

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and that they were all destroyed by robbers on his way to Hyderabad.

He may have been a good poet. Unfortunately the writer has not seen his Urdu poem "Man Lagan", which was published several times in Madras and also in Bangalore but which is, at present, out of print; therefore he is quite unable to say anything about its characteristics.

(6) Mufrimī (about 1703)

His name is Shāh Bernullah (?), and he has also translated Vajhī's "Sabras" in poetry. He may have been a native of Bījāpur as he writes that he finished his poem in the Ranzā (tomb or graveyard) of Hamīduddīn Sāmānī, which is situated in Bījāpur.

Mufrimī completed his poem in 1703, and named it Gulshan-e-Husn-o-Dil. His style is simple, and the masnawī in which Vajhī's story is abridged a great deal is very ordinary as regards poetical merits.

Nothing more is at present known about this author. His masnawī is preserved in the Library of the Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu Aurangābād.⁽¹⁾

(1) See Urdu magazine, Vol. V, No. 19, p.499.

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(7) AHMAD (about 1700)

There is a little confusion about the name of the poet. Mīr Hasan and Qāim speak of him, in their Tazkirahs, as Amad of Gujrat; in two other tazkiras, i.e. 'Umda-e-Muntakhibād, and 'Ayār-ush-Shu'a, he is described as if he were living in Burhānpur; and that name was Ghulām Ahmad 'Alī. But as the Northern Tazkirahs are generally not sound authorities for the Dakhanīpoets and literature, these statements cannot be considered exactly true. The specimens of Ahmad's poetry, preserved in the said Tazkirahs, though very attractive as poetical lines, unfortunately do not throw any light on the author.

On the other hand, the present writer has found seven of his marṣīahs in a manuscript in the Edinburgh University Library, which satisfactorily prove that his name was Yatīm Ahmad - it appears in the concluding lines of nearly all the Marṣīahs - and that he was perhaps a native of Burhānpur. He has composed marṣīahs with the same Qafiya and Radīf used by the great

Burhanpur Marṣiah writer, Hāshim 'Alī.

Ahmad's marṣiahs contain nearly 160 couplets, and possess some elements other than mere marṣias. The first and the sixth are more or less qasīdās in praise of Husain. Several characteristics of the great martyr are elaborately described in them. The second and the seventh are elegies on his martyrdom. The third and fourth are typical general marṣias - full of pathos. They very forcefully depict the miserable condition of the helpless family of Husain. And in the fifth one, which is the best of the lot, the poet relates the death of 'Alī Asghar, the one-year old child of Husain in the words of the mother. It abounds in sentimental expressions and is very pathetic.

The language of all these is not very clear and developed when compared with that of his contemporaries.

(8) VALI OF VETUR (about 1707)

There is some confusion about the two Valīs of the Dakhan, but the present writer has tried to make matters as clear as possible. There is no doubt that there were in the Dakhan, two poets of the name Valī

, living at the same time, but one lived in the North West i.e. in the province of Aurangābād, and the other belonged to a village, Vetur, in the South East, which is now a part of the Madras presidency. And although they flourished at the same time, they were not aware of each other's existence. The Valī of Vetur was, especially, a religious man, and was not known as a poet in his life-time, even perhaps, in Hyderabad, while the Valī of Aurangābād was, his life time more famous in Gujrāt and Northern India than in Madras or on Hyderabad. And it is the Valī of Aurangābād and not of Vetur, who travelled to Delhi and made a name as a great Urdu poet.

The name of the Vatur Valī is Sayyid Muḥammad Faigān. He was a courtier of Nawāh Nīrāsāt Khān of Sāt Gerh, in Dakhan. Afterwards he left his service and travelled to Kadpah (now in the Madras Presidency) where he became acquainted with the Subah-dār (governor) of that district, Nawāh 'Abdul Majīd Khān, and was duly honoured. Later on he was appointed as an officer at Sidhot, the fortress which is mentioned by Imnā-Mashāṭī in the epilogue of his "Phul Ban".

Valī seems to have been a prolific writer, for two of his three known works are extraordinarily bulky.

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1. Ratan Padam. This masnawī is not extant. It was seen in the Library of the Kings of Qudh, by Spreng who has mentioned it in his catalogue. It dealt with the love affairs of Queen Padmāvat and Ratan Sen, Rājā of Chittaur, a story probably based on Malik Muhammad Jaisī's Padmāvat. It was copied on 400 pages, and had nearly 4000 couplets.

2. "Rauzat-ush-Shuhadā" his second work, has been published several times, and there is a good manuscript of it in the India Office Library. In the published copies, the date of composition is given as 1707, while in the India Office manuscript it is 1720, and it is not at present easy to decide which is correct.

Valī's "Rauzat-ush-Shuhadā" is based on Mulla Husain Wāiz Kāshifī's Persian book of the same name which was also called "Dah Majlis" as may be found in its MSS, in the Bodleian Library, (see cat. p. 7). In his translation, every chapter is styled 'majlis' and as there are only ten chapters, it may also be rightly named "Dah Majlis", a name attributed to a book generally supposed to be written by Valī of Aurangabad. But the present writer is of opinion that the "Dah Majlis" attributed to the famous Valī

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is in fact this same "Rauzat-ush-Shuhadā" which was also termed "Dah Majlis", and that the famous Valī did not really write any book of this name. The lines about the "Dah Majlis" included in his recently published "Kulliyat" may have been composed by the Vetūr Valī and not by him. Moreover, he was an original poet, and it is hardly possible that he degraded himself by trying to do the ordinary task of translating a purely religious book. Of course he was not a religious devotee, and would not have wasted his energies in writing more or less eulogistic poems on the family of 'Alī. Anyhow, it was also owing to this misunderstanding that Blunhardt, in his India Office Catalogue while writing about the author of "Rauzat-ush-Shuhadā", has given a detailed life of the famous Valī of Aurangabad.

In the Dakhan translation the arrangement of the Persian text is not strictly followed, there being some omissions in the first two chapters and in the epilogue. It is divided into these ten chapters:- 1. Death of Muhammad, 2. Death of Fātimā 3. Martyrdom of 'Alī 4. Martyrdom of Hasan 5. An account of Hurain, the martyrdom of his cousin Muslim bin 'Aqīl, of Hānī bin 'Urwah, and of Muhammad bin ^{Anas} ~~Has~~ and his son.

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 6. Martyrdom of the sons of Muslim 7. Departure of Husain from ^{Mecca} Mecca to the desert of Karbalā, and the martyrdom of Hurr. 8. Martyrdom of the friends and connections of Husain 9. Husain, his children and relations 10. Events subsequent to the battle of Karbalā.

As these headings will show, the book is not a collection of marsias, as some writers have stated, on the other hand, it is a detailed eulogistic history of the battles and martyrdoms of the family of the prophet. Like some of the Dakhani marsias, it is, though a devotional religious treatise, not devoid of poetic merit and attractive features. But at the same time, it is not a very fascinating book to read; it really requires patience to go through its nearly 5000 couplets.

Another book, a munājāt of 50 couplets, is also attributed to this Valī, but as the author of *Urdu-e-Qadīm*, who is the only writer to mention it, has not given any reference, it is rather doubtful as to whether it exists or was really by Valī.

(9). ASHRAF (about 1716)

Sayyid Ashraf is one of the good poets of this period. His devotion chiefly to subjects relating to the Caliph 'Alī and his family, suggests that he belonged to the Shī'

sect. A good portion of his compositions is extant in form of manuscripts in the British Museum and in the Edinburgh University Library. But, unfortunately, his works do not throw any light on his life. In his Marsiya, however, there are a few hints which show him to have been a popular poet and a master of his art. He is mentioned in Sprenger's catalogue, where it is written with reference to Zakā's Inzkirā, that he was a contemporary of Valī, and nothing else! The same statement may be found in the Tazkiras of ẖīr, Shafīq and Qāyim also; the latter says that he was alive in the days of Hātim. In the works of the great Valī himself, there is a couplet in which the poet quotes a line of Ashraf saying that he liked it.

The manuscript of Ashraf's maghawī in the B. Museum (Add. 10590) contains 863 couplets, although the poet himself has written in the text that he composed only 806 couplets. Its name is "Jan Gnamā", and it presents a detailed account of the wars of 'Alī especially with Sahāl (?). It is not original, it is a translation of a Persian maghawī, as is explained by the author himself (fol. 4a).

The depicted events of the maghawī are not historically true, most of them being the creation of the poet's own

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imagination.

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Ashraf introduces his name several time into the poem (see fols. 3a, 7a, 25b, etc.,) and especially at the end, where he also states that it was completed in 1125 A.H. (i.e. A.D. 1713). He has also mentioned the names of his contemporary kings, i.e. Bahādur, Jahādā and Farrukh Siyar.

The poem begins with the usual ascriptions of praise to God, the prophet, 'Alī, his wife, Fātimā, and the three sons, Hasan, Husain and Haseif, the latter is rarely mentioned by other writers.

In the prologue, he describes his selection for translation of the particular Persian Jangnāmā, and states that though he had the courage to begin the task, he had not the real ability to accomplish it. But, as a matter of fact, he was really a good poet, and his religious zeal helped him a great deal in producing a valuable Dakhani work.

In spite of being a religious poem, it has some good specimens of poetry. The style is not obscure. The language is rich in poetic expression.

His margins which are thirteen in number, and are preserved in the Edinburgh University Library, contain

nearly 140 couplets. They are superior, in style, to those of his contemporary Ahmad, especially his margins for Asghar is far better. Many couplets in his margins are like those of ghazals, and it is very probable that Ashraf was a good ghazal writer.

(104) VALĪ OF AURANGABAD (1668-before 1730)

Nothing can yet be decided as regards the name of this Valī, and thus it is at present safe to call him simply Valī of Aurangabad. He was a native of that city, and not of Ahmadābād or any other town in Gujrat where he may have often travelled and perhaps had his education.

It is guessed that Valī was probably born in 1668 and died in 1744, in Ahmadābād where he lies buried. But the present writer does not agree with the latter date, which is inferred from the date of composition of "Daj Majlis", because he does not believe, as has already been mentioned, that the "Dah Majlis" was re-composed by this Valī. He probably died before 1730. This is supported by Shamsullā Qādrī's statements that he had seen a manuscript of his diwān which was written in 1730, and at the end of which the following

sentence was found: "finished the late Valī's diwān".

There is some confusion about Valī's visiting Delhi. The author of "Urdu-e-Qadīm" does not approve of the statement that he visited Delhi during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh. In his opinion, Valī travelled only in the time of Aurangzīb. But as the present writer will discuss this matter in detail in the next chapter it will suffice here only to point out that Valī had been to Delhi in the time of Aurangzīb as well as in Muḥammad Shāh's reign.

It can be ascertained from internal evidence that he was more or less a constant traveller. The realistic couplets and the beautiful poem referring to Gujrāt and Sūrāt respectively, will always remind us of his memorable journeys to, and impressions of these places.

Unusual attention has been paid by different writers and especially by the editor of his diwān, lately published by Anjuman-e-Taraqqī-e-Urdū, to Valī's religion. The present writer, however, has already stated, while writing on Valī of Veṭār, that this Valī was not a religious devotee. Like Ḥafiz and Ghālīb, other great ghazal-writers, Valī was also free from petty prejudices, and led a secular and probably an

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aesthetic life. How can a man who has written many ghazals addressing some beautiful boys in particular, and who has expressed his desire for excessive drinking be considered a true religious devotee? He was a world man, a poet, and, like Ghalib, has sometimes shown a tendency for mysticism. This latter was quite natural and was simply due to the fact that the Muslims who venture to lead a free life, in order to avoid being treated by their co-religionists as atheists and outcasts, generally declare themselves to be sūfis, who are sometimes allowed not to perform everyday religious duties. But by saying this, the writer does not mean that Valī was an atheist, his main object is to point out that the struggle between the Shī'as and the Sunnīs to include Valī in their sect, is a futile one. He may have been a Sunnī by birth, but there is no evidence to prove that he was an orthodox follower of any creed by practise.

Some very strange kinds of arguments are produced in opposition to or in favour of Valī being a learned man. It is generally believed that his knowledge of Arabic and Persian was very meagre, and that it is only due to this that we find many incorrect forms of Arabic and Persian words in his poetry. As a matter of fact, the argument itself is not sound. Valī was a true

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representative of his age. It is simply ridiculous to expect him to use words and phrases as they are used to day. The unscientific rules made by the Lukhnow poets for using Arabic and Persian words in Urdu poetry, did prevail in Valī's time. His predecessors and contemporaries were natural poets and used to compose poetry for the sake of true poetical enjoyment, and not in order to display their ^{by} ability to use words and idioms, to record Arabic and Persian phraseology, and thus to produce versified dictionaries.

Moreover, the language they used was that which was commonly spoken by their contemporaries. Their tendency was to use words as they found them in their spoken vocabulary, and not as they are written in the great Arabic and Persian dictionaries.

Besides foreign words, the modern critics find fault with Valī's ordinary Urdu. They say that sometimes his language is archaic, and that it is not easy to understand many of his idioms and phrases. But they do not consider ^{the} that fact that it is an injustice to expect an ancient poet to write in their up-to-date language. Valī's poetry and style was as up-to-date, pure and charming in his time, as that of Akbar and Iqbāl⁰ is

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to-day.

Vali's diwān contains poetry in different forms; there are nearly 450 ghazals, 25 tarkīb bands of different kinds, 6 qasīdās, 2 masnawīs, and 25 rubā'īs. But his fame, like that of Mīr and Ghālīb, rests only on his ghazals. They abound in highest poetical beauties. His qasīdās and masnawīs, though comparatively few, are also not devoid of high literary merit. It is a pity that Val did not compose long poems; and thus his poetry does not deal with as many real poetic themes as it would have dealt with if he had composed some long poems.

The greatest characteristic of his poetry is, beside simplicity, eloquence, and charm of language, display of real love, independence of outlook, and admiration of beauty. His ghazals resemble Mīr's and Dard's in details of love, Ghālīb's and Hāfiz's in freedom of thought, and Nazīr's and Inshā's in aesthetic taste.

B. MARSIA - WRITERS.

There are in the Edinburgh University Library two bulky manuscripts, copied in 1779, that contain nearly 530 marsias, mostly composed in this period, though a few belong to the great Bijāpūr and Qutub Shāhī marsia-writers like Hāshimī, Shāhī, and Mirzā. One of them, of 238 marsias, is in fact, a diwān of marsias of only Hāshim 'Alī of Burhānpūr but the other of 289 marsias, is a collection of different kinds of elegiac poems composed by nearly 80 Dakhini poets.

Among these Dakhini writers, there are many who composed only Marsias, and no other kind of poetry, as they themselves have stated at the end of their compositions. But as some of them are really good writers, it seems necessary to mention a few typical ones here; a detailed list of the other minor writers is given in the appendix at the end of this chapter.

The early attempts at marsia-writing in the Dakhan

as has been already described in the third chapter, and still unknown; though they no doubt began very early, most of the 'Adil Shāhī and Qutub Shāhī kings being Shī'as.

The poets who will be discussed here belong to the period of Urdu marṣia-writing which is up till now supposed to be a gap between the ages of Hāshimī (d. 1611) and Mirzā (d. before 1673) the greatest Dakhani marṣia-writers, and Anīs (d. 1875) and Dabīr (d. 1875) the greatest Northern marṣia-writers. They are in fact very important joining links between the two golden ages of Urdu marṣia-writing.

Their marṣias are valuable as the representative production of an age when the art of marṣia-writing had already reached its zenith in the Dakhan. They prove that with the downfall of their patrons, the kings of Bijāpur and Golkundā, they did not cease writing, but successfully continued up to the time of Anīs and Dabīr who after taking this art into their hands, led it in quite a new direction. Thus the statement can be no longer true, that the Urdu Marṣia-writing of the Dakhan died out very soon, and that the Northern. i.e. Khalīq

and Zamīr, had to start it again independently on their own lines.

The predominant characteristic of most of these marṣias, is their being true marṣias, in the strictest sense of the word. They were composed according to the then prevailing rules of marṣia-writing. Their chief object was to relate the sorrows of the tragedy of Karbalā, and make people weep. This tendency was always preserved in the Dakhan; and in the North too it was strictly followed in the beginning. But it was at first under the impulse of Anīs and his contemporaries that this art became an important part of Urdu poetry.

One cannot deny the fact that this tendency of not sticking only to the religious elements, and that of introducing in it a good amount of true poetry, was gaining ground in the Dakhan too, as may be seen in the marṣias of Razā, Razī, Nadīm, Nazār and Qāqīm, but at the same time, it had not been popular.

Once 'Uzlat, a good marṣia-writer, pointed out at the end of a marṣia, that it is no use writing a dry and unpoetical marṣia, but his contemporary Razā replied in his marṣia that, although 'Uzlat had said the

in his opinion it was good even to write a bad marṣia, for its main purpose was to make others weep over the tragedy of Karbalā.

Like the early Northern marṣia, the form of most of these Dakhani marṣias, is the "tarkīb^{band}", containing many quatrains. In the first 'band' of every poem there are four lines of the same qāfiyah and radīf, and in each subsequent band, the first three lines rhyme with each other, every fourth line rhyming with the first band, thus:-

- | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | a | a | a | a |
| 2. | b | b | b | a |
| 3. | c | c | c | a |

A few marṣias are in the form of Mukhammas, and those composed generally on the subjects of Salām, Durūd, and Fātiḥa are in the form of ghazals.

As regards subject matter, Dakhani marṣias are not so rich as those of the North; but their subjects are more or less the same, i.e., the sad death of the child 'Alī Aṣḡar, the marriage of Qāsim and Sakīnā, and the subsequent and untimely death of the former, and the martyrdom of Imām Husain. They are very beautifully depicted, and while reading them, one naturally feels as if the events had happened in the Dakhan, and that heroes were purely Daknīs.

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One more and the most important characteristic of these margias is that, unlike the Northern ones, many of them give much historical information. They are rich in mentioning dates of composition, the name and native places of the writers, and some other contemporary details. No other source is, at present, available by which one can learn about these margia-writers, and had these margias not been so informative we could not have included them in this thesis.

1. IKĀNĪ (about 1725)

Nothing is known about this margia-writer except what may be gathered by the internal evidence. He was, as his nom-de-plume, suggests, a Shī'ah and wrote margias. He has at the end of nearly every poem, expressed the strong belief that all his sins will be pardoned on account of his being a true believer in Ma'm Husain and his family.

He was not an ordinary margia-writer. His style is refreshing and picturesque. He often uses vigorous dialogues, and produces interesting dramatic effects in the margias. His metres are also lively, and help to interest the reader.

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Only eight of his *marṣias* are, at present, extant. They contain 70 couplets, and 38 lines of a *Muṣallāḥ*. Most of them deal with the general events of Karbalā, the first is especially about Imām Ḥusain, and is the best in style. The fourth one describes the sorrowful beginning of the month of Muḥarram, and is also a good introductory *marṣia*.

2. RAZĀ (about 1725)

He is one of the greatest *marṣia*-writers of Gujrāt. Although he did not explicitly state that he belonged to Gujrāt, he indicated, as will be shown later on, that he was not from the Dakhan, and moreover, Razī, a poet of Gujrāt who is mentioned by Hāshim 'Alī, and whose nine *marṣias* are also preserved in Edinburgh, refers to him as his contemporary.

Razā was one of the master poets of his time, and had to face many rival poets. He was also a teacher of a good number of *marṣia*-writers of various places. His popularity may be seen from the statement, occurring at the end of one of his *marṣias*, that people requested him to write *marṣias*, and have taken them to their homes, and that many took them to the Dakhan also; the last fact

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proves that he did not live in the Dakhan.

He was orthodox in adherently following the strict rules of *marṣia*-writing. In his opinion a *marṣia* was always meant for expressing the mourning over the sad fate of Imām Husain's family.

There are 15 *marṣias* in the Bayāz, which bear his name, and contain nearly 360 couplets. Most of them are of high poetic value.

The first one, describing the lamentations of Fāṭimā over the death of her son Husain, though not of very high merit, is worth considering for its information about the poet's life. In its last lines, the poet has expressed his desire to visit Karbalā, and said that on account of his always being engaged in holy *marṣia*-writing, God had rewarded him and made him a well known and successful poet.

In the fourth *marṣia* occurs his statement about his *marṣias* being taken to many places. It is one of his best poems. It deals with the marriage of Qāsim and Sapīnā, and is rich in realistic descriptions of the marriage festivities of those days. With the exception of a few commonplace elegiac lines, it abounds in poetical fire and in simple and melodious expressions.

It is at the end of the seventh *marṣia* that we find his answer to 'Uzlat's statement about writing poetical *marṣias* which has already been referred to. This is one of Raṣā's typical *marṣias* about the death of Ḥusain. He seemed to have specialised in writing *marṣias* about Ḥusain only, of course, nearly everyone has its characteristic of subject matter. If one is represented as being spoken by Ḥam Ḥusain's wife, the other is by his daughter, and the third by his sister, and so on. Thus they retain the interest by means of their fresh modes of expressions, and on account of the different sentiments of the differing relatives of the martyr.

3. SAYYID (about 1725)

His name was, perhaps, Sayyid Ghulām Muḥammad, as it appears in one Persian *marṣia*. He was probably a native of Gujrāt, a fact inferred from a couplet relating to Europeans, because they first settled on the Gujrāt coast and in the Dakhan. The author has not given in his work, any information about himself. One couplet, however, shows that his father died just when he was writing that *marṣia*.

Sayyid seemed to have been a medical man, or at least was aware of the technicalities of medicine, and also of

astrology, for in one marṣia he has lavishly used their technical terms. There are ten of his marṣias copied in the Bayāz, two being Persian. He was, of course, a learned man, and not a bad poet. His language is clear and forceful, and his style often presents emotional qualities of a high order.

4. GHULĀMĪ (about 1725)

He seems to have been a great poet, though he is not mentioned by any subsequent writer, and unfortunately, by internal evidence too, we cannot gather much about him. His date remains unknown, and we are not sure about his proper name, although the concluding lines of his marṣia number 2 and 6, suggest that it may have been either Ghulām Haider or Ghulām Murtuzā. His native place, however, is explicitly mentioned in marṣia No. 5, where he expresses his earnest wish to leave Gujrāt and go to Karbalā. But at the same time, we cannot decide about a particular town in Gujrāt. It is evident from marṣia No. 7 that at the place where he used to recite his compositions, there were many other marṣia-writers, who are regarded by him, probably owing to his friendly humility as his superiors. Moreover, there were some rivals who

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used to envy his lot and for whom he has expressed his contempt in his *marṣia* No. 8.

Ghulāmī was, like many other poets of the *Edinburgh Bayāz*, a *marṣia*-writer only, and most probably a popular for his *marṣias* occupy the greatest space in the *Bayāz*; they are 17 in number and contain nearly 375 couplets. Besides the information, there is one more suggestion in his *marṣia* No. 7. which, though not very important at present, will certainly be of use when perchance somebody will discover anything more about him. It shows that when he was writing that *marṣia*, his father was already dead, and that his mother was suffering from some illness, and the poet was very anxious about her recovery.

He was a more realistic writer than most of his fellow poets, and probably ^{than} contemporaries also, like *Hāshim 'Alī* and *Razā*. The richness of his ideas is remarkable. He has created some new dramatic events about the tragedy of *Karbalā*, and depicted them with such ease and simplicity that the reader becomes convinced and thinks of them as real historical facts. Sometimes his language is as refined and sweet as that of *Valī*. He is perhaps the only old writer to introduce quite natural and fluent dialogues in poetry. His picturesque style and inventive genius entitle him to the foremost rank of the old *Dakhan* poets.

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5. QĀDIR (d. before 1740)

Some of his couplets (margia Nos. 5 & 6), suggest that his name may have been Ghulām Qādir, but Qāim in his tazkira (see Makhzan-e-Nikāt) Ind. Office MS. P.No p.31) writes that it was 'Abdul Qādir, and that he led an ascetic life in his old age. He is also a great poet like Ghulāmī, though his greatness lies in quite a different kind of poetical merit. We are certain about his time, and to a great extent about his place. He has himself given the date of composition of one of his mazaḥis (No. 7) proving that he was alive in 1736 A.D. Moreover two of his contemporaries have also mentioned him in their writings.

In the "Diwān" of Hāshim 'Alī, his name occurs twice once when he was alive, and the second time after his death. Mirzā of Golkundā also refers to him as dead; and thus it seems probable that he may have died before 1740.

His being a Dakhani poet is proved by the couplet of Hāshim 'Alī who evidently refers to him as a great poet of the Dakhan. But like that of Gulāmī, Qādir's

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native town is unknown. It is most probable that it was Haidarābād as is mentioned by Qāim and because nearly all the important poets of Aurangabad, the only other contemporary centre of poets and literary men, have been recorded by Lachmī Nārāin Shafīq, an authentic tagkirah-writer of those days.

His marṣia No. 15 shows that Qādir was a learned and scholarly man. In it he has displayed his thorough knowledge of astrology and geometry. It abounds in technical terms, and in it the tragic events are supposed to be related by an astrologer.

He was no doubt one of the popular writers of his day. The Edinburgh Bayāz possesses more than 300 couplets of his 17 marṣias. They are remarkable for their elegance, and fresh and clear delineation of human emotions. Their chief characteristic is their forceful and pathetic style. In spite of his following the spirit of true and technical marṣia-writing, Qādir does not lose poetical eminence.

6. HĀSHIM 'ALĪ (d. after 1755)

This was not the same as Nuṣratī's contemporary Hāshimī, as some have mistakenly thought. It must be noticed that Hāshim 'Alī never calls himself Hāshim or

Hāshimī. While perusing the "Dīwān-e-Husainī", i.e., the collection of his margaas forming a separate volume in the Edinburgh Urdu manuscripts, the writer tried his best to find him using a nom-de-plume other than Hāshim 'Alī, but he was not successful, and that is why, when he came across, in the "Bayāz", a marga by a certain Hāshim, he did not include it in the list of Hāshim 'Alī's margaas, although at the same time, he is not certain whether it really may not belong to him. It is possible that he may have, at least once, called himself Hāshim.

Hāshim 'Alī flourished nearly 60 years - after the great Hāshimī of Bijāpūr. He was a younger contemporary of the famous Valī, and has fortunately left, in his works traces that help us a great deal in fixing his time. In the heading of his marga, No. 20, he has described a dream, seen by his friend Hājī Fazladdīn, that on the 20 of Ramazān, 1148, A.H., i.e., 1735 A.D., the latter saw Imām Husain in a majlis (assembly for reading the marga praising ^{Hāshim} 'Alī's compositions, and asking him to repeat before him a particular marga which had gained some fame for Hāshim 'Alī.

This note indicates that Hāshim 'Alī's compositions had become popular before 1735, and that they were considered pathetic to such an extent that, according to himself

Imām Husain himself was pleased to come to hear them.

In another place, in the concluding lines of *marṣia* No. 175, Hāshim 'Alī has given the date of its composition, which is 1755, A.D.

These two dates suggest that he was probably born nearly at the end of the 17th. century, and that he lived till the middle of the 18th.

In another way, too, we learn about his time. He has, as we already know, twice mentioned his contemporary Qādir; once when he was alive, and the second time after his death. And as Qādir was alive in 1736, this proves that Hāshim 'Alī was living till the middle of the 18th. century.

In the same couplet about Qādir, Hāshim 'Alī has mentioned his grief on the death of two other contemporaries, i.e., Rūhī and Mirzā. We have already discussed the latter in the fifth chapter; whereas Rūhī was also perhaps among the good *marṣia*-writers of his age, as we learn from his 5 *marṣias*, which contain 50 couplets and are preserved in the Edinburgh Bayāz. He probably was a good *ghazal*-writer also, because his *marṣias* are full of poetic expressions and *ghazal*-like couplets. Nothing is known about his life. Qāim however, mentio

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in his tazkirah, a poet Rūhī who was a descendant of some meshāikh, a religious dignitary, of Hyderabad, although it is not certain whether it was this same Rūhī.

The compiler of the Edinburgh catalogue has stated that Hashim 'Alī belonged to Burhān Pūr, but unfortunately has not quoted his source of information. And as his statements, like those of other writers, about the time and other details concerning this poet, are very misleading, it is not safe to believe his account of the latter's native place. As a matter of fact, there is no evidence internal or external whatever, about Hashim 'Alī's being a Burhānpūr poet, though it may easily be inferred from internal evidence that he belonged to Gujrāt, and that he was probably residing in a town which was commonly called, as we find twice in Hashim 'Alī's poems, by its inhabitants "Nagar". It is quite possible that the word "Nagar" was in those days, popularly used for Burhānpūr just in the same way as the words "Baldah" or "Shehar" are commonly used for the cities of Hyderabad, by its inhabitants. But in no case could we be certain that Hashim 'Alī's native place was Burhānpūr.

His being a Gujrāt poet may be proved by the fact that at several places in his poems, he has referred to

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the Dakhan in a way as if he were living at a distance from it. For instance in the concluding lines of his marsia No. 227, he has stated that 'when friends read his marsia in Gujrāt, the Dakhanīs heard it and were so much affected that when they went to the Dakhan, they were actually weeping.' This statement along with the one about Razā, proves that the Dakhanīs generally used to travel to Gujrāt, and that it was not only Valī who visited there, and was so much impressed by them that he wrote an interesting poem in their remembrance.

At another place Hāshim 'Alī addresses himself and writes:- "My friends brought the news from the Dakhan that my compositions were taken from there to Karbalā". This and the two other couplets mentioned in the life of Qādir, one about Hāshim 'Alī's desire of being praised by the former, and the other about his being sad on the death of his Dakhanī friends, prove that his poems also were being taken to the Dakhan, that the Gujrati poets regarded their Dakhanī contemporaries as great poets, and authoritative personalities, and that on account of their friendly relations they were not quite out of touch with each other.

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Hāshim 'Alī wrote only marsiyas, and perhaps was a professional. He never composed any other kind of poet and as other poets usually collect their ghazals alphabetically and thus compile a diwān, he also collected marsiyas, and in naming the collection "Diwān-e-Ḥusainī" stated that other poets compose jovial and fascinating poetry whereas his is a production of a sorrowful heart and deals only with the sad events of Karbala.

In three other places in the Diwān, i.e., in marsiyas Nos. 74, 114 and 139, he has explicitly mentioned that he never wrote any other kind of poetry; and not only this, in the concluding lines of marsiyas, Nos. 52, 99 and 172, he has even highly praised himself for being only a marsiya-writer. Moreover he was so enthusiastic in the matter that in two marsiyas, Nos. 71 and 186, he has stoutly defended his defects of poetry, if there were any, arguing that people must not judge him as an ordinary poet but as a pure marsiya-writer, for as such his duty was only to make people weep.

Anyhow Hāshim 'Alī was among the best Gujrāt and Dakhanī marsiya-writers, and although in his diwān, we not find any such marsiya as to be compared with one or

best productions of Ghulāmī or Qādir, still he is on the whole, a great poet. His marsias are generally pathetic, and not devoid of literary flavour. Some of them are not only marsias, but detailed descriptive accounts of the battle-field, and also of the private life and character of the prophet and his family. He writes with ease and vigour, though his style is sometimes not so vivid and flowing as Valf's.

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PROSE - WRITERS.

As no manuscript of Urdu prose of this period is extant in any of the European Libraries, the present writer is unable to write in detail about them, and whatever he writes here is based on the unfortunately slight information given by the author of "Urdu-e-Qadim, who professes to have seen them in a private library of Hyderabad.

1. S. Shāh Muḥammad Qādrī (about 1700)

His full name was Sayyid Shāh Muḥammad Qādrī, and he was the founder of the well-known family called Nūr-e-Daryā, of Rāichūr, now a district of the Hyderabad state. He was the khalīfah of the famous Shaikh Amīnuddīn A'la, also an Urdu writer of the Qolkundā school.

Qādrī is said to have written many religious treatises in the Dakhanī language, most of them dealing with the Sūfī doctrines. The author of "Urdu-e-Qadīm has seen two of his works in which the doctrines relating to the unity of God and the destiny of man

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were discussed.

2. Sayyid Shāh Mīr (about 17 ?)

The second Dakhanī prose writer of this period was Sayyid Shāh Mīr, who belonged to the village of Rānūt. His work is entitled "Asrār-uh-Taḥīd", and it also deals with the doctrine of the unity of God. It is preserved in the private collection of the Editor of the Tāj, an Urdu magazine of Hyderabad.

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APPENDIX I

A detailed list of the writers and their works of this period.

1. Afzal (about 1626) of Northern India.

a. Bārā Māsā (1626)

MS. Ind. Off., P.1244-B.14

b. Madh-e-Mahbub Subhānī (about 1600)

MS. Ind. Off., P.2727-B.73

2. 'Ālīz (about 1639)

Maleka-e-Misr (1639)

MS. Ind. Off. P.2727-B.73.

3. Za'īrī (about 1639)

a. Hidāyat-e-Hindī (1639)

MS. Private Library in Hyderabad

b. 'Ishq-e-Sādiq (?)

MS. Ind. Off., P.2727-B.73

4. Amīn (about 1698)

Yūsuf Zalikhā (1698)

MS. Bib. Nat. Paris, Ind. 856

5. Zauqī (about 1698)

a. Viṣāl-ul-'Ashiqīn (1698)

MS. Anj. Taraqqī-e-Urdū

b. Complete poetical collection.

MS. Private library in Hyderabad.

c. A few Urdu ghazals.

MS. Ind. Off. P.3108

6. Bahrī (1700)

Man Lagan (1701)

published Bangalore, India, 1892

7. Mujrimī (about 1703)

Gulshan-e-Husn-e-Dil (1703)

MS. Anj. Taraqqī-e-Urdū

8. Ahmad (about 1700) of Gujrāt

a. Marsias

MS. Edinburgh University Lib., P.

b. A few couplets quoted in the tazkiras.

9. Valī of Velūr (about 1707)

a. Rāḡzat-ush-Shuhada' (1707)

MS. Ind. Off. P.2380-B.112

b. Ratan Padam (?)

MS. was extant in the Libraries of the Kings of Oudh.

10. Ashraf (about 1716)

a. Jang Nama-e-Haidar (1716)

MS. Brit. M. Add. 10590

b. Marsias

MS. Edin. Univ. Lib. P.

11. Jīvan (about 1720) of Northern India.

a. Mahshar Nāmā

b. Dard Nāmā

c. Khab Nāmā

MSS. Private Library in the Panjab

12. Ja'for (d. 1713) of Northern India.

Kulliyat

MSS. B.M., Or. 382

13. Valī of Aurangābād (d. about 1730)

Kulliyat published by Anj. Taraqqi-e-Urdu, 1927

14. Shāh Muḥammad Qādrī (about 1700)

Two religious treatises

MSS. Private Library in Hyderabad.

15. Sayyid Shāh Mīr.

Asrār-ut-Tauḥīd.

MS. Private Library in Hyderabad.

16. Ghulāmī (about 1725) of Gujrāt

17 marsiās

MS. Edinburgh Univ. Lib.

17. Qādir (d. before 1745)

17 Marsiās

MS. Edinburgh Univ. Lib.

18. Imāmī (before 1725)

8 marsiās

MS. Edinburgh Univ. Lib.

- 12
- 796
19. Razā (about 1725) of Gujrāt
15 Margias
MS. Edinburgh Univ. Lib.
20. Sayyid (about 1725) of Gujrāt
10 margias
MS. Edinburgh Univ. Lib.
21. Hāshim 'Alī (d. after 1755) of Gujrāt
Diwān -Husainī (1755)
MS. Edinburgh Lib. ✓

APPENDIX II

An alphabetical list of other contemporary Marsia-writers and their manuscripts in the Edinburgh University Library (The marsia writers who are mentioned in the last three chapters are not included in this list.)

<u>Names</u>	<u>Marsiās</u>	<u>Couplets</u>
1. Asghar	1.	24.
2. Afsah	2.	29
3. Afzal	1.	35 (lines)
4. Akbarī	1.	18
5. Alfī	1.	11
6. Baqir	1.	22
7. Birhī	1.	9
8. Bekhabar	2.	18
9. Turāb	5.	49
10. Taqī	2.	68
11. Hamīdī	1.	12
12. Dās	8.	196
13. Ramzānī	4.	55
14. Razī	9.	87
15. Rūhī	5	48
16. Sarwar	1	17

17.	Sirri	2	19
18.	Salimī	2	19
19.	Seidan	2	18
20.	Sharaf	4	87
21.	Shahbī ^{al}	1	14
22.	Shaidā	1	18
23.	Sābir	1	50 lines
24.	Sālik	2	24
25.	Salāh	8	121
26.	Sūfī	1	13
27.	Tāhir	6	168
28.	Tufail	1	11
29.	'Ābid	1	11
30.	'Arif	2	29
31.	'Ikram	1	7
32.	'Izzat	1	44
33.	'Uyzzlat	8	205
34.	'Atā	1	17
35.	'Atāf	1	10
36.	'Azīm	1	45
37.	'Alī	1	?
38.	'Asimudd, in	1	24
39	Ghalib	1	12
40	Ghulam	1	27
41	Fatah	1	28

42	Faḥl	2	48
43	Qāim	3	79
44	Qurbān MI	3	40
45	Qutub	4	54
46	Kāzim	10	204
47	Gul	2	21
48	Muhtilā	1	11
49	Miskīn	1	11
50	Masiha	1	26
51	Masīhuddin	2	18
52	Mawālī	1	94
53	Mūsā	1	36
54	Mu'tabar	1	25 11
55	Makkhan	1	13
56	Nida	4	39
57	Nad In	11	152
58	Nazar	4	124
59	Na'im	1	7
60	Hādī	1	43
61	Hoshdar	4	88
62	Yārf	2	23
63	Yūsuf	2	56

CHAPTER VI.

THE DAWN OF URDU LITERATURE

IN DELHI

a. The Dakhani Influence.

b. The Reaction.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DAWN OF URDU LITERATURE IN

DELHI

a. The Dakhani Influence.

There is very little doubt that the foundation of Urdu was laid in or around Delhi, but it must not be forgotten that it could not gain any literary position there for centuries. It was as early as the fourteenth century A.D. that Urdu was adopted as a medium for writing in the Dakhan, and perhaps in Gujrāt also, but Delhi, in spite of its being a central meeting place of Hindūs and Muslims for long, did not possess a single Urdu poet or prose writer until the seventeenth century.

The great Mughal emperors who were really interested in Hindū culture and literature did not care to patronise this intercommunal language in their courts, although it was spoken in their palaces, armies, and streets. An earlier Bījāpur historian who always refers to Urdu as Hindī, and who was a stranger to it, being a newcomer from Persia, writes

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that when Akbar the Great heard about the death of his second son, Dāniyāl in Dakhan, he composed a couplet in Hindī which he often used to recite, stating that Harbadā and Gangā (two great rivers of the Dakhan - Gangā being still the popular name of the River Tungbhadra) are not rivers but two ears in the Dakhan, created by the unceasing tears of his eyes lamenting over his two sons who died there. The historian further says that as he himself did not know that language he was unable to quote the original couplet in his work. ⁽¹⁾

It was during the reign of Aurangzīb, when the Dakhan was annexed by the Mughal empire and the people of both countries, so long separated politically, came into contact, that the Delhi poets first found to their astonishment that there were good literary works in the language which up till then they had considered quite unworthy of being written. It was neglected not only by Muslims, who always wrote in Persian, but also by Hindus, who used to write either in Persian or Braj. But these Persian writings had become boring to both the communities, and thus it was not difficult for the Dakhan to impress their northern literary friends.

Some of the numerous facts which greatly helped the Dakhani influence to prevail over the Northern minds may be

(1) See Futūhāt-e-'Ādil-shāhī, B.M. MS., Vol. 260^b.

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mentioned here:-

1. The Delhi poets were tired of imitating Persian poetry. They had to struggle hard to acquire a mastery over a foreign language, and still they could not become equal to the Persian masters. As it was not their mother-tongue, they were not entitled to coin new words or phrases or modes of expression. They were always afraid of being caught by real Persian speakers. Nearly all the Taghkirahs of Indian Persian poets abound in such discussions and contests between the Persian and the Indian poets.

2. The kings themselves were not poets, and those who used to compose and take an interest in Persian poetry were unable, owing to political disturbances, to patronize poets. If Aurangzib's descendants and courtiers, like those of Akbar had been staunch patrons of Persian literature, there is every probability that Persian influence would have lasted some time longer.

3. As the Indian writers of Persian were not free to express their ideas in a foreign tongue, and very seldom had the courage to depict their local characteristics and other familiar and natural objects in their Persian poetry, they were in great need of some medium of expression in which they could easily display their originality without being compelled to follow the old and worn-out traditions of Persian poetry.

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It was at this time that the literary men of Delhi saw specimens of Dakhani literature and met and heard some of its poets in their own town, and consequently were tempted to imitate them. This process first developed as a fashion but very soon Urdu poetry became so popular that within a quarter of a century Persian composition was considered a degradation for an illustrious Urdu poet. A very good specimen of this kind of feeling may be found in Mushafi's Tazki where it is candidly recorded that by composing Persian verse the great Urdu poet Sauda was really demeaning himself.

We are unable at present to state the correct number of Dakhani poets who visited Delhi in those days, although it is certain that quite a body of them had been there, and that some visited it more than once. From the Tazkirah of Mushafi only we come to the conclusion that more than fifteen Dakhanis had come to Delhi where they were highly honoured. In the same work we find that nearly thirty Delhi poets had visited the Dakhan. And it is hardly an exaggeration to say that we are sure to get information about many other poets, if we only to search other old Tazikirahs with this object.

So far we have discussed only the poets, but we have a good reason to refer to persons other than poets who, after the downfall of the Southern kingdoms, travelled to Delhi and other northern cities. Most of these travellers were people

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of literary taste, as we can gather from "Undah-e-Muntakhi⁶ li⁷ah," a Persian Tagkirah of Urdu poets compiled in 1804, by A'zamuddaulah Sarwar, and consequently had brought with them many Dakhani works. The large number of Dakhani productions in the libraries of the kings of Oudh, as described by Springer, indicates how soon the Southern literature became popular in the North, and that it was considered worth preserving even in the Royal libraries. This popularity is also proved by the fact that a good many of the copyists of the Dakhani MSS. now preserved in the European libraries were natives of the North, who wrote these MSS there mostly in the reign of Muhammad Shah.

Some of the old Tagkirahs prove that in the literary societies and assemblies in Delhi Dakhani poetry was eagerly listened to, and that the poets were encouraged to such an extent that they were tempted to visit Delhi more than once. Valli himself is said to have been there three times. And he was delighted with his reception to such an extent that he composed a couplet to the effect that

"Convey this news to the king Muhammad Shah that my heart is stolen by Delhi."

The Delhi poets considered it a test of their mastery to compose ghazals in the same zamin (i.e. metre and rhyme) as Valli; and his lines were often selected as Mipra'e-tarh

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(*گلستان*) for the Delhi Mugh'irās.

Although no collected works of the early Delhi poets are at present extant, yet the small selection of Hātim's Dīwān which was arranged by himself in A.D. 1668, and named "Dīwān Zādā", is preserved in the India Office, and is very valuable as being the only existing specimen of the poetry of those days. This MS. abounds in material proving the points under discussion.

In the Persian introduction Hātim has acknowledged Valī mastery and his own following of the master's style. In the selections themselves there are many couplets in which he has paid compliments to Valī, and there are more than twelve Ghazals in which he has explicitly pointed out that they were composed in imitation of Valī. In a few other couplets he addresses Valī as if they were written in his presence.

Valī is also praised in the Tazkirā of Qāim, and as this is one of the oldest, being compiled in 1754, its statement is very valuable. In it the author, in order to strengthen his own remarks, has quoted a popular Urdu line of those days to the effect that "One who goes against Valī will be called Satan."⁽¹⁾ This line suggests that there is one more point to be borne in mind. It is most probable that the northern Po

(1) See Makhzan-e-Nika^t. Ind. Off. MS., Fol. 786.

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poets of those days may have, at first, tried to oppose and underrate Valī, for he was evidently the cause of their unpopularity. This idea is also confirmed by the fact that we find in Valī's works a couplet attacking a famous contemporary Persian poet, Nāḡir 'Alī. It may have been written in response to the latter's opposition, about which we have no further information.

An incomplete manuscript, probably the author's own autograph, of an anonymous Tagkirah of Urdu poets, is extant in the India Office library.⁽¹⁾ It seems to have been written as early as in the life-time of Ābrū and his contemporaries. It is valuable in the detailed information it contains about contemporary writers. Its author has very highly praised Valī, and further writes that when his Dīwān was brought to Delhi in the third year of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, all the great poets and literary men of the time began to imitate its style. He very explicitly mentions that they adopted the same language as was used by Valī, and not that from him they only got the idea of composing in their own vernacular.

In Muḥṣafī's Tagkirah we find even stronger evidence as to the Northerners adopting the Dakhani mode of expression for their poetry. In it the author has referred to one of his

(1) See Ur. No. 34.

visits to ⁴Ġatīm, and quoted the latter's statement about the matter, the translation of which is as follows:-

"In the second year of Muḥammad Shāh's reign Vallī's Dīwān was brought to Delhi, and became so popular that its lines were recited everywhere by old people as well as by children, and I and a few other poets like Hājī Maḥmūd, and Abṛū, began to compose in Hindi."

Among other Dakhani poets, besides Vallī, who were hailed in Delhi, Āzād and Firāqī are generally mentioned. Mīr Ḥa in the beginning of his Taḡkirah, after stating that "it may be known that Rikhtah was first written in the Dakhan", expresses his opinion about Faqrullāh Āzād, and commends his poetry in this manner, "came to Delhi with Firāqī, had a sympathetic outlook in poetry, and composes with great ease and fluency. May God bless him."⁽¹⁾

Thus very soon the Northerners began to abandon Persian composition, imitated the Dakhani poets, considered them as their models and teachers, based their Ghazals on their "Zamīns", and tried their best to write in the Dakhani style. Nor did they stop at that; they used to criticise severely the man who did not follow the Dakhani style faithfully. This is proved by the advice given by Abṛū (one of the first

(1) See . P. 40.

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master poets of Delhi) which is in the form of a qat'ah, and is preserved in the introduction of the "Dīwān Zādā" of Ḥatīm, who has quoted it to show that when the Delhi poets began to follow the Dakhanīs they displayed a strong reaction against the old Persian influence. Ābrū says:

"I want to advise those who compose Rīkhtah, and my advice is sound, that it is awkward to use Persian verbs and other derivations, and the man who uses them, his rīkhtah is wrong."

It is needless here to enumerate the hundreds of Northern poets who began to compose in Urdu just after the impulse given by Valī. As the present writer has studied Miḡhafī's Taḡkirah carefully, he is able to produce from its manuscript nearly fifty poets who are described as the contemporaries of Ābrū and Ḥazmū.

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b. The Reaction.

The Dakhani influence, though it created a new atmosphere in Delhi, was short lived. The Dakhani style, like the Persian, was a strange element in the Northern poets. Though not very different it yet was not their own natural mode of expression. Their vocabulary had become so Persianised that it was at that stage rather difficult for them to avoid Persian constructions and other ordinary words. The Dakhani poets, on the other hand, had comparatively few Persian turns of thought in their compositions. They either retained the Sanskritic words they had inherited from their forefathers who came into the Dakhan from the North, or borrowed new words from other Sanskritic or Dravidian languages.

Moreover, owing to the long separation, there was a great difference between the colloquial peculiarities of the two forms, a difference by which Vallī was much impressed, and on account of which his later poetry, composed after his visits to Delhi, was also influenced.

The first Northern poet who tried to lead his contemporaries in the direction of composing in their own everyday vernacular was Mirzā Jān Jānā Maḥzar. He was the most influ-

ential man of his day, and he may rightly be called the first teacher of Urdu poetry in Delhi. He corrected the verses of many notable poets, and created a profound poetic and literary culture in the overcrowded assemblies that used to be held daily in his "khānqāh". It is delightful to learn all about Nazhar's activities, as faithfully recorded by one of his disciples in his biography, which was compiled in Nazhar's lifetime, and corrected by him. A bulky MS of this valuable Persian work (i.e. Bahārāt-e-Nazhariyā, by Shaikh Na'imullah Naqshbandī) is preserved in the British Museum.

Shāh Ḥatīm who, on account of his long life, had the opportunity of witnessing both the movements, i.e. the Dakhani influence and the reaction, and had compiled his "Diwān za'" after the complete victory of the Northern reactionaries, has plainly described this change in his introduction. He says:-

"For the last ten or twelve years I have used in my poetry popular and easy Arabic and Persian words which were formerly neglected, and also the everyday colloquial words and phrases which are current in Delhi. Except these, modes of expression belonging to every other language (even to Hindī which is called Bhāshā) have been abandoned." (2)

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He further writes that in the selection, i.e. *Dīwān* Z he has not included any poem of the old style, and that his readers are requested to excuse him if they find any such poem in it.

But at the same time, it must also be remembered that this change was not at first approved by some other great poets. In "*Makhzan-e-Nikāt*," an old *Tazkirah* of Urdu poets *qāim* thus expresses his disagreement with the movement:-

"Now I write about the poetry and life of the later poets of this period. Their style is an imitation of Persian poetry, and they follow it with respect to every poetic and technical peculiarity. And they think it advisable to use every Persian construction which is popular in Delhi. But to use or to translate Persian constructions in *riḳhtah* is not correct, because in this way both languages are spoiled."⁽¹⁾

Still, in spite of this opposition, the movement developed in Delhi with the same rapidity as the *Dakhani* influence had formerly done.. This seems more probable and natural when we realise the part played by great poets like *Saudā*, *Mīr* and *qāim* in making this reaction successful. It was evidently due to their efforts that the Urdu of Delhi soon

(1) See Ind. Off. MS., Vols. 68 and 70.

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became a standard language, and that of the Dakhan lagged behind until it sank into an oblivion from whence it can never rise again.

The following is the internal evidence from each of the three poets, which show how Saudā, Mīr and Qāsim worked to free the Northern poetry from Dakhani influence and turn the tide of Urdu literature in Delhi:-

Saudā: 1." To compose rikhtāh was considered a vice even by fools, but I composed it in such a way that even the wise began to realise it is a device."

2." There was nobody who used to read rikhtāh poetry, it is I who made this art very popular."

Mīr: 1." Why should not the rikhtāh attract people when I have transferred it from being a vice into a virtue?"

2." Rikhtāh was not considered so dignified until I composed it excellently."

Qāsim: 1." I dressed rikhtāh with the robe of popularity otherwise it was not an art with the culture."

2." I made rikhtāh worthy of composing ghazals otherwise it was written in the worthless Dakhani language."

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

Showing the Historical and Literary Activities
which have a direct or indirect connection with
the development of Urdu from its origin down to
the Year 1720.

NOTE: As the Events, People, and Books which are recorded
here belong to different places, and as some names are
common to several people, it is advisable to distinguish
them by letters abbreviated from words, in brackets.
All the names of Books are written in inverted commas.

KEY to ABBREVIATIONS.

- B. Bījāpūr.
D. Delhi.
D.M. Dekhan after the Mughal Conquest.
G. Golkundā
Guj. Gujrat.
N.I. Northern India.
P. Persian language.
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- 1193 The Conquest of Delhi by Muhammad Ghūrī; its becoming the Muslim headquarters of India.
 - 1206 Accession of Aibak as the first Muslim King of Delhi.
 - 1294 'Alauddin invades the Kingdom of Devagir (afterwards Daulatabad); the first Muslim invasion of the Deccan from the North.
 - 1296 Accession of 'Alauddin Khilji.
 - 1297 The Muslim Conquest of Gujrat.
 - 1304 The Conquest of Maharashtra by Malik Kafur.
 - 1306 Birth of 'Alauddin Ganj-ul-'Ilam.
 - 1307 The Conquest of Andhra Kingdom by Malik Kafur.
 - 1308 The Conquest of Karnataka by Malik Kafur.
 - 1318 Birth of Khajir Banda Nawaz.
 - 1320 The Foundation of the Tughlaq dynasty in Delhi.
 - 1324 Death of Amir Khusrav.
 - 1326 Accession of Muhammad Tughlaq.
 - 1328 Daulatabad becoming capital of the whole Indian Muslim empire; Delhi people ordered to migrate to the Deccan.
 - 1347 The Declaration of Independence of the Deccan. The Foundation of the Bahmani kingdom; Accession of Hasan Gangū.
 - 1351 Death of Muhammad Tughlaq.
 - 1358 Death of Hasan Gangū.
 - 1393 Death of 'Alauddin Ganj -ul-'Ilam .
 - 1398 The attack and plundering of Delhi by Taimur; Khajir Banda Nawaz leaving Delhi for the Deccan.

- 1413 Fall of the Tughlaq dynasty: Foundation of the Sayyid dynasty in Delhi.
- 1422 Death of Khājā Bapda Nawāz.
- 1444 Fall of the Sayyid dynasty.
- 1451 Foundation of the Lodi dynasty in Delhi.
- 1490 Foundation of the 'Ādil shāhī dynasty in Bījāpūr:
accession of Y^uṣuf 'Ādilshāh
- 1494 Foundation of the Mughal dynasty in Delhi;
accession of Bābar.
- 1496 Death of Shāh Hīrā Jī
- 1506 Death of Bahāuddīn Bājān (Guj.)
- 1508 Foundation of the qutub shāhī dynasty in Golkondā;
accession of Sultān qulī.
- 1510 Death of Yūsuf 'Ādil shāh; accession of Imām 'il (B.)
- 1526 Fall of the Bahmani Kingdom.
- 1531 Death of Bābar; accession of Humāyūn (D.)
- 1534 Death of Imām 'il 'Ādil shāh; accession of Ibrāhīm I
- 1543 Death of qulī qutub shāh; accession of Jamshīd (G.)
- 1550 Death of Jamshīd qulī qutub shāh; accession of Ibrāhīm (
- 1556 Death of Humāyūn; accession of Akbar (D.)
- 1557 Death of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil shāh I; accession of 'Alī I (
- 1566 Death of Shāh 'Alī Qām shāhī (G.)
- 1572 Fall of the Gujrāt Muslim dynasty; fall of the 'Imād shāhī dynasty of Berār
- 1578 Composition of "Khūb Tarang" (Guj.).

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- 1580 Death of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh I; accession of Ibrāhīm I
death of Ibrāhīm Qutub Shāh; accession of Muḥammad
Qulī (G.).
- 1582 Composition of "Irshād Nāmā" by Shāh Burhān; death
of Shāh Burhān (B.).
- 1592 Compilation of "Aswāj-e-Khūbī" (the Persian comments
of Khūb Tarang) (G.).
- 1595 Compilation of "Burhān-e-Ma'āgīr" (Dakhan History)
by 'Alī b. 'Azīzullāh Tabatabā' (P.).
- 1600 Composition of "Sharḥ-e-Tarīkh" by Khānī Khudā Nāmā
foundation of Nauraspūr by Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh (G.).
- 1605 Death of Akbar; accession of Jahāngīr.
- 1606 Commencing of "Nauras Nāmā" (P.) (Tārīkh-e-Farīshā
by Abul Qāsim Farīshā (B.).
- 1608 Composition of "Qutub Mushtari" by Vajhī (G.).
- 1609 Fall of the Barīd Shāhī dynasty of Bīdar.
- 1611 Death of Muḥammad Qulī Qutub Shāh; accession of
Muḥammad (G.); compilation of "Tazkīrat-ul-Mulūk"
(Dakhan History), by Rafī'uddīn Ibrāhīm Shīrāzī.
- 1613 Compilation of Muḥammad Qulī's diwān (G.).
- 1614 Death of Shaikh Khūb Muḥammad (Guj.).
- 1618 Compilation of "Tārīkh-e-Sultān Muḥammad Qutub Shāh"
(P.) by an anonymous author.
- 1624 Death of Muḥammad Qutub Shāh; accession of 'Abdullāh.
- 1625 Composition of "Saif-ul-Mulūk-o-Badī'-ul-Jamāl"
by Ghawwāgī (G.).
- 1626 Composition of "Bārā Māsā" by Afzal (H.I.); death
of Jahāngīr; accession of Shāh Jahān (D.); death
of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II; accession of Muḥammad.

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- 1628 Compilation of "Ma'āsir-e-Qutub Shāhī Maḥmūdī" (P).
by Muḥammad b. 'Abdullā Nishāpūrī (G.).
- 1635 Composition of "Sabras" by Vajhī (G.); Malik Khusḥū
journey to Golkunda as an ambassador; Shāwāqī's
journey to Bijapur as an ambassador.
- 1637 Composition of "Tuhfat-un-Nagā'ih" by Qutbī (G.).
- 1639 Completion of "Baharān-o-Bānū Husn" by Mawlat (B.).
- 1640 Compilation of "Maḥiṣat-us-Salātīn" (P.), by Miḥmūd
Aḥmad, (G.).
- 1643 Compilation of "Futūḥat-e-'Ādil Shāhī" (P.) by Muzūn
Astarābādī (B.).
- 1649 Composition of "Khawar Nāmā" by Rustamī (B.); Compos-
tion of "Tūṭī Nāmā" by Shāwāqī (G.).
- 1653 Composition of "Kāh Paikar" by Junaidī (G.).
- 1655 Composition of "Phul Ban" by Ibn-e-Nashāṭī (G.).
- 1656 Composition of "Gulshan-e-'Ishq" by Muqrati (B.);
death of Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh; accession of 'Alī I
(B.)
- 1658 Deposition of Shāh Jahān; accession of Aurangzīb (B.).
- 1659 Death of Mīrā Jī Khudā Nāmā (G.).
- 1661 Victory of Panālā; composition of the famous qasīdā
by Muqrati (B.).
- 1666 Composition of "'Alī Nāmā" by Muqrati (B.); compilation
of "Sharī'at Nāmā" by Shāh Malik (B.); Compilation
of "Tārīkh-e-'Alī 'Ādil Shāh Sānī" by Sayyid Mūrū
(B.).
- 1670 Composition of "Baharān-o-Gul Andām" by Tab'ī (G.).
- 1672 Death of 'Abdullā Qutub Shāh; accession of Abul Ḥasan
Tānā Shāh (G.).
- 1673 Death of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II; accession of Bikandar (B.).
- 1674 Death of Muqrati (B.).

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- 1676 Death of Shāh Aḥmadnuddīn A'la (B.).
- 1680 Completion of Aḥmad's "Qissa-e-Abū-Shahān" by an anonymous writer (G.).
- 1681 Translation of "Naṣṣat-ush-Shuhadā" by Devā (B.).
- 1682 Composition of "Asrār-e-'Ishq" by Nomin (B.).
- 1683 Composition of "Riḡwā Shāh-o-Kūh Afzā" by Faiz (G.).
- 1684 Composition of "Zafar Nāmā" by Latīf (G.).
- 1686 Fall of the Bījāpur kingdom; deposition of Sikandar 'Adil Shāh by Aurangzīb.
- 1687 Fall of the Golkonda kingdom; deposition of Abul Ḥaṣan Tānā Shāh by Aurangzīb.
- 1688 Composition of "Yūsuf Zalikḥā" by Naṣhīmī (B.).
- 1689 Birth of Sirājuddīn 'Alī Khān Arzū (N. I.); Composition of "Malikah-e-Mihr" by 'Ajiz (D.H.); Composition of "Hidāyat-e-Hindī" by Zā'ifī (D.H.).
- 1697 Composition of "Yūsuf Zalikḥā" by Aḥmad (D.H.); death of Naṣhīmī (B.).
- 1698 Composition of "Viṣal-ul-'Ashiqīn" by Zauqī (D.H.).
- 1699 Compilation of "Vāqi'āt-e-Salātīn-e-Bījāpur" (P.) by Shāh Abul Ḥasan; birth of Shāh Zuhūruddīn Ḥatīm and Mirzā Maḥzar Jān-e-Jānā.
- 1701 Composition of "Maḥal Lagan" by Baharī (D.H.).
- 1703 Composition of "Gulshan-e-Ḥusn-o-Mil" by Majrīmī (D.H.).
- 1706 Death of Aurangzīb; accession of Bahādur Shāh (D.).
- 1707 Composition of "Naṣṣat-ush-Shuhadā" by Valī of Velī.
- 1716 Composition of "Jangnāmā-e-Ḥaidar" by Ashraf (D.H.); birth of Mirzā Rafī' Saḍā.

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- 1716 Birth of Sirāj of Aurangabād.
1719 Accession of Muḥammad Shāh (D.).
1720 Composition of "Dard Hāmā" by Jīvan (D.H.).
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